NANTUCKET QUAKERISM

VOL I

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R. J. Leach

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by Robert J. Leach

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Nantucket Quakerism

FORWARD

Nantucket has become a family word in America. Ever since Crevecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer gave that small island a disproportionately large share of his commentaries on American Colonial life, there have been a succession of literary figures, not least among them Herman Melville, who have immortalized the Quaker-whaling island, situated off the New England coast. Although the charm of Nantucket Island and town, perhaps the best preserved colonial village in America, has elicited many excellent, and other not so superior attempts at describing and recapturing the unique dynamic of Nantucket culture, no serious study has hitherto appeared to probe the inner life of the colonial century between 1661 to 1763.

There is one exception to the foregoing broad statement, if one considers the able work of Florence B. Anderson entitled, A Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin, published in 1940. Florence Anderson's book, however, covers only the thirty years from 1660 to 1690. I am indebted to her research for my first chapter. I am particularly concerned, however, to portray as accurately as the meagre records allow, the life of Nantucket, especially within the Friends (Quaker) Meeting from 1698 to 1763. It is my contention that this epoch, hitherto largely neglected by students of both Nantucket and American Colonial history, contains the secret of the rise; and the secret of the eventual collapse of Nantucket; as a microcosm of American culture. The story is not dramatic in the sense that the denouement is reached. Rather it is the first volume of a trilogy in which the spirit of man is the hero. My study is the obverse of the coinage of Moby Dick. Here is Nantucket at home, while the whalers were off on their dangerous and magnificiently brutal saga of sustained personal bravery. Here is the spirit

of the pacific Jesus entreating very human beings, caught in a sociological pattern which put premiums upon the ownership of personal property. Here is a controlled experiment in the social pattern of Christianity called Quakerism. My thesis, in brief, is that the failure to solve creatively the basic problem of common land ownership, dealt Nantucket the Society of Friends a fatal blow—a blow from which developed its later weaknesses and eventual collapse. The lesson to be learned is amazingly clear. The basic drama has the archetypal proportions of Greek tragedy. It is with a great sense of gratitude that I present his first of three volumes. Even as a small child I was deeply responsive to the potentiality of the far-away island. After years of living intimately with the past and present generations on Nantucket, I have written my book as a tribute to this genius. Whatever slant or bias is evident, comes from my having been raised on Martha's Vineyard, and subsequently my having joined and been active in the work and worship of the Society of Friends.

Robert J. Leach

N A N T U C K E T Q U A K E R I S M

Volume I

CHAPTER I

"Awaite Powona"

1661-1698

For the Nantucketer no cry on earth can equal the masthead voice singing out "Thar' she blows". The whale has been sighted. The sea monster must be trapped, harpooned, and terrified into maddened self-destruction. In the early years when the island was dependent on open surf-boats, twenty-four feet long, and wrought of native Coatue cedar, the aboriginal Indians shouted the cry in their Algonquin dialect. "Thar' she blows" rendered in their musical cadences became "Awaite powona". The alert Indian exclamation opens appropriately our history of Nantucket. Like Captain Ahab in Melville's classic, the first white settlers were about to espy their object, in this case the island of Nantucket itself. Captain Ahab once had been a sane integrated human being. So it was in the case of the original Nantucket settlement. A fatal accident twisted Melville's mad captain toward his final moment of achievement, in which as the protagonist, he went down with his victim to utter destruction. The parallel is to be found in the vehicle of the human spirit on Nantucket, known as the Society of Friends. In this volume, we can be concerned only, however, with the early integrated pursuit of satisfactory community life, and then to observe that "accident" which gave rise to the fatal madness and which, must needs be recorded in later volumes along with its obliterating consequences.

The middle years of the 17th century in the English speaking world were an era of controversy. The unity of life and spirit which produced the merry England of Robin Hood's day had disappeared before the divisive scientific outlook of the Renaissance, and the intensely vindictive quarrels engendered by the Protestant Revolt. Not only had a major revolution culminated in the

execution of the English soverign, but the vigorous presecutions involved, had crystalized in American several colonies or plantations of exiles, most groups of which had in mind to perpetuate the particular social and religious pattern it cherished.

Chief among the colonies settled because of a desire to found an uncontaminated utopia, was that centered at Boston, called Massachusetts Bay. Here the puritans attempted to recreate an old testament commonwealth, by the iron-clad logic of John Calvin's Institues of the Christian Religion. Twice in the first generation of its existence, Boston's theocracy had been threatened by dangerous ideologies from within. In both cases exile had proved an effective weapon. Roger Williams was driven out to found Providence, and Anne Hutchison to help found Portsmouth, Rhode Island.

In 1656, however, Boston was faced with an ideological threat from outside, which mobilized all the latent vindictiveness of which the puritan was capable. His fear for the destruction of Zion was caused by the arrival of a few of those people called Quakers. Though harmless enough in appearance and by profession of pacifism, the Quaker ideology struck at the very root principle of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. For the puritan commonwealth was based upon the idea of a closed revelation of the scriptures, a doctrine of the elect, and belief in perfection for the elect after this life. Thus a magistracy giving evidence of being in God's favor were expected to govern the unregenerate autocratically and according to scripture precept.

On the other hand, the basic views of the Society of Friends, as the Quaker group is called, centered about the belief that Christ's way of life opened the ranks of the election to all men, that perfection was to be sought, and in large measure achieved in this life: and that the scriptures are but a record of a revelation which continues even now in the hearts of men. Consequently the Quaker theory of government implied that all members of society should search together for the kind of groups judgment, which allows everyone to add

his particular insight to the group decision, and which may use the spriptures only as a helpful historical check. The Quaker doctrine taken seriously meant a complete revolution within, and collapse of Boston's puritan government.

Consequently, repressive laws were issued from 1657 on, calling for whippings, brandings and even hangings for any visiting Quakers and fines, public admonitions and disenfranchisement for the citizen who showed any evidence of hospitality toward the hated pariah. And the laws were carried out brutally, and to the extent that several Quakers were done to death on Boston Common. The laws of 1657 levied a high fine of £ 100 (equivalent of $65,000.00 purchasing power in 1950) upon any overseas captain who presumed to import a member of the Society of Friends. Should such a heretic slip into Zion unaided, from such a sink of evil as Rhode Island, he was to be denied hospitality by all householders, who if such failed to slam the door, were to be subject to hourly fines at the rate of 40 shillings ($80.00) for the period that the Quaker tarried. Naturally all residents who embraced the heresy were forthwith banished, and their ears subject to mutilation should they presume to return. A second return produced a red hot iron bored through the tongue. And to prove a quality of mercy, such a visitor, if female, was to recieve only the vigor of a cat o'nine tails. All leniency disappeared, however in 1658, when the dealth penalty was prescribed for even a first return from banishment.

The Society of Friends soon acquainted King Charles II with the murderous conduct of his puritan subjects in Boston, and that monarch remembering his father's decapitation at the hands of those same puritans somewhat earlier, sent a missive forbidding further anti-Quaker action on the part of the Bay authorities. The subsequent years proved that the theocracy had been overly solicitous for its own welfare. Only a small minority in the Boston dominated area embraced the dangerous heresy.

We discover, however, that the origins of the plantation of Nantucket, are embedding in the actions of that brief terrible period of Quaker prosecution in Massachusetts. In 1659, the area of the present state of that name comprised three colonies: the Bay itself, Plymouth, and the Islands. The islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket had been conveyed by King Charles I in 1635 to the Earl of Sterling, his Secretary for Scotland. The earl promptly turned them over to his deputy James Forrett, who in turn, sold the Islands to Thomas Mayhew of Watertown in the Bay Colony for $5,000.00. To insure title to the Island, Mayhew also procured a patent from Fernando Gorges "Lord Proprietor of Maine" and the New England islands, under a grant made to Gorges in 1623 by the crown. Assured in his legal title, Thomas Mayhew established a plantation of what is now Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard in 1642, five years after purchasing his colony. Mayhew was a strict puritan who gave short shrift to any Quaker or even any Baptist who ventured unto his island. At least on one occasion he banished two Quaker missionaries.

Thomas Mayhew was, however, a practical realist, when it came to matters of property, so that when he was approached in 1659 by his distant cousin Thomas Macy of Amesbury in the Bay Colony, concerning a possible sale of the hitherto neglected island of Nantucket, Mayhew ~~assented~~ agreed, despite the Baptist heresy which his cousin Macy had embraced. Thomas Macy represented a group of avowed liberals who wished to escape from the anti-hospitality laws directed against their fellowmen, the Quakers. They were like Macy, Baptist or pro-Baptist in sentiment.

A positive reaction from Thomas Mayhew resulted in a preliminary expedition to Nantucket by Macy and his associates, Tristran Coffin of Newbury and Edward Starbuck of Dover, New Hampshire. As interpreter to the Indians they enlisted the help of Peter Folger, then minister of the Congregational Church at Great Harbor (or Edgartown). Their association, no doubt, hastened Folger's convincement of Baptist principles, which resulted in his dismissal from the Edgartown

pastorate five years later. The four men, and a boy who had come along, visited the far-away island of Nantucket, thirty miles out to sea, observed its rolling moors, fresh ponds and good harbors. They found the shrimp-shaped island to be fourteen miles long and three miles across, containing 30,000 acres of land. The latitude proved to be 41°15'22" and the longitude 70°7' 56". Westward lay a few sandy bank islands and two fair size islets. Tuckernuck and Muskeget, Two Indian tribes were encountered and a northernly strip of lands purchased through the skillful negoltiations of Peter Folger. The prospective proprietors returned well satisfied that they had discovered the ideal location to experiement in a church-less community for from the heavy hand of Boston's inquisition. Here was a small compact physical unit, controllable, so that the austere pattern of puritan culture could never take root. The basic motivation in the settlement of Nantucket was the truly American goal of religious freedom. They had paid ~~the Indians~~ Mayhew $1,500.00, and had included two brown hats for the tribal chiefs. Price paid to Mayhew not the Indians.

Negotiations were then entered into at Mayhew's residence to create a legal body of proprietors to number ten persons, one of whom was Thomas Mayhew himself. The nine others were expected to purchase their full shares outright from Thomas Mayhew. Upon returning to the north shore, it was deemed prudent to co-opt ten more share-holders, Mayhew choosing a fellow Vineyarder in the process. One further important decision was the agreement to grant as many half-shares of proprietary ownership in the island as there were full shares. That is, the owners were agreed that twenty half share rights in the projected settlement could be granted to specific settlers in return for their introducing needed skills or trades. Altogether then, thirty full proprietary shares were envisaged as completing the basic organization of ownership of the island. Actually what was created was a cross between a feudal grant to land proprietors as in the case of William Penn and a de facto land company of the typical New England type, a corporate body which managed the founding and regulation of the infant plantation.

A closer scruntiny of the chief proprietors of Nantucket reveals sharply how it was that the settlement of the island in 1661 by Englishmen was a direct consequence of the first Quaker invasion of Massachusetts. Thomas Macy the intial mover, though formerly a General Court member (i.e. the of the Colonial Legislature) had suffered a large fine and a public admonition for sheltering William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, two visiting Quakers, both of whom were publicly hanged in 1659. As a matter of fact the two young men had found a roof over their heads in Macy's shed during an exceptionally heavy electrical sorm. The fine timbered house which Macy left in Amesbury stands as a reproach to the blindness of puritan policy. His coopted associate was another General Court member, the same Edward Starbuck, who went on the preliminary expedition. He also was pro- Baptist. Tristram Coffin, likewise a pioneer, was more financially than religiously involved, being a nominal puritan. He left a flourishing inn on the banks of the Merrimac. One of Coffin's sons and a son-in-law were among the original ten shareholders while two other sons were co-opted proprietors. Five of the twenty full shares were Coffin investments. As for Tristram Coffin's coopted partner, he was Edward Starbuck's son Nathaniel, soon to be another of Coffin's sons-in-law.

Still another original share holder was a Richard Swain like Macy of Amesbury, and like many severely fined for hospitality to Quakers, and in his case disengranchised. Like all the other proprietors, he hailed originally from the west of England, an easy-going part of the old country. Richard Swain's son John was the only Quaker in the group of original proprietors, Similarly an original shareholder. Richard's partner was a Vineyarder, while son John's was Thomas Coleman, later the founder of the vitally important sheep-raising industry on Nantucket.

A third citizen of Amesbury to join the enterprise was Thomas Barnard who apprently had not suffered losses himself, but was sympathetic to Macy and Swain. He brought his brother along. The two remaining of the original shares were

not properly occupied. One owner never chose a partner, but rather sold out early to the Coffin interests. The other was taken by Christopher Hussey of Newbury (the Coffin bailiwick) but not occupied by his son Stephen for more than a decade. Shareholders were expected to settle, or at least improve their grants, and visit the island periodically.

The original settlers arrived on Nantucket in the spring of 1661, when Thomas Macy was chosen clerk "At a meeting of the owners and purchasers, or inhabiting, Mr. Thomas Mayhewwas present and Peter Folger . . ." Apparently the settlement was virtually an independent republic, as Thomas Mayhew's status as chief magistrate was indeed hazy. Certainly there was no religious establishment, nor any formal church as such. Both Thomas Macy and Edward Starbuck were exhorting elders, and that apparently satisfied the colonists.

At first all energies were directed toward building a village at Madaket harbor. Nantucket has lacked any adequate timber for some thousands of years. Consequently all permanent framing had to be brought from the mainland. This was expensive business. Cash crops of necessity had to be developed. In 1662 a half-share was granted to a William Worth recently mariner in the English navy, for him to develop a coastal fishing. Nantucket was launched on her seaborn career . Two years later another half share was granted, this time to full-share owner Thomas Coleman to introduce sheep-raising. The north and western third of the island was now held by the proprietors in common. And it was agreed that each full share entitled the owner to pasture 720 sheep if he so desired on that land. Owners of half shares were allowed 360 sheep each. Soon the island was overstocked, so the quotas were reduced. However, the mild winter climate proved ideal for the herds to range all winter, and with the arrival of spring there must needs be held a general round-up of all the sheep in order to brand the new lambs. In its unique way, Nantucket foreshadowed the great western plains of the American continent. Fish and wool not only supplied food and clothing but were in demand as export goods. Thomas Macy himself

received an additional half share in the proprietary for introducing the necessary skill of weaving woolen cloth. Indidentally, the terms for receiving a half share included a three year apprenticeship, plus one's paying both one's share of white and Indian purchase fees.

Only three pieces of property were acquired in fee simple. These were Tuckernuck which remained a Coffin estate, and Polpis, at the head of the harbor, granted by the Indians to Edward Starbuck as a token of regard for him. Both latter properties were turned over to the proprietary in subsequent years. However, interest attaches especially to the Polpis tract, which was an especially fertile section, the "Garden spot of Nantucket". In 1664, Tristram Coffin deeded half of this property to his daughter, Mary, who had two years before married his partner, Nathaniel Starbuck. For some unknown reason the deed was never filed, but turned up 80 years later to plague the peace of the island for generations to come.. Mention of the 1664 deed is made here because it was the original seed of catastrophy for the island.

Important as fishing and sheep raising proved to be, the center of economic activity on the island was Mary (Coffin) Starbuck's combination store and Indian bureau which she opened along with starting her housekeeping in 1662. She offered credit to the natives in return for fishing equipment, and received fish in payment. These she salted for export. In return for feathers, she gave them powder and guns by which they shot the birds for the feathers. The feathers she used for bedding. She also supplied the Indians with cloth, leather shoes, and even cook knives and molasses from off island. On occasion there was sold cider for special Indian religious ceremonies. Fortunately the account book of her establishment has been preserved for us. Apparently, Mary Starbuck's store was the center of island life for thirty years, when it was taken over by her son Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr.

Two more important economic developments occurred in the very early years. As foreshadowed, Peter Folger left his Vineyard post, and as it happened, went to Newport, Rhode Island in 1664, where incidentally the Society of Friends had established its headquarters for New England three years before. There he was re-baptized and then called to Nantucket as minister of the settlement. He was granted a half-share in return for building a grist-mill. He also served as the first blacksmith and surveyor on the island. Apparently Peter Folger was an antinomian electarian, or a very liberal Baptist, opposed to ministers' salaries and to the pagan names of days and months. Product of a good classical education in Norwich in old England, he was the first of a series of capable Latin scholars on the island. And he was a decided democrat as time was to reveal. The other economic development was punctuated by the arrival of Richard and Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, he receiving a half-share for introducing a better type fishing boat in 1667. Sarah was a ~~daughter~~ sister of the Samuel Shattuck who had carried the King's missive to Boston in 1659, a man who had been whipped for releasing the gag from a visiting Quaker, who had been placed in the stocks at Salem. Samuel had embraced the Quaker way of life, as had his ~~daughter~~ sister Sarah Gardner. In fact she and her husband were fined in 1673 ~~when~~ on a trip to Salem when they had ventured to attend Friends meeting there again. Gardner was not a member, nor was John Swain's wife incidentally. At any rate, Sarah Gardner was the second permanent Quaker to live on Nantucket.

There had been another Quaker on the island briefly in 1664. She was Jane Stokes, who amazingly enough had come to America directly upon completing a visit to Rome and the Pope. At that time, she was seeking the release of John Perrot, a Quaker then in the hands of the Inquisition. Later she became his follower. He was, however, so unbalanced by his sufferings that he became a religious anarchist and thus a great cause for uneasiness to the Society of Friends. Eventually, he and his followers were disowned by their fellow Quakers. After

which, he led a dissatisfied group into separation. Jane Stokes belonged to that "ranter" fellowship when she visited Nantucket. Rather naturally, she did not seek to found a Quaker meeting on the island, as she held all formal religious meetings were unnecessary to true religion. It happened that Jane Stokes was readmitted to regular Quaker membership in 1672 when she condemned Perrot's views. She died in good standing as a Quaker on the Island of Jamaica in the West Indies.

A third permanent Quaker did move onto the island in 1673, in the colorful figure of Stephen Hussey, whose father, Christopher Hussey, it will be recalled, had purchased one of the original ten shares in the proprietary. When Stephen, a middle aged bachelor lawyer, emigrated from Barbadoes in the West Indies, where he had joined Friends, he brought to Nantucket a goodly portion of un-Quakerlike contentiousness. During the quarter-century from 1673 to 1698, Friend Hussey upheld the Quaker cause as he understood it on the far away island. Unfortunately his predecessors John Swain and Sarah Gardner, the other two of the trio, probably regarded him as a thoroughly disagreeable character. But to discuss Stephen Hussey is to jump far ahead into the political maelstrom where Nantucket was to be swept.

In 1664, English cannon forced Peter Stuyvesant to haul down the Dutch flag over New Amsterdam. King Charles II, eager to please his brother, conferred the conquest upon the Duke of York, including for good measure all the islands off the coast of New England beginning with Long Island, including the Vineyard, Nantucket and even the islands off the coast of Maine. Thomas Mayhew and the proprietors of Nantucket went anxiously to New York to establish confirmation of their rights. Some of the inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard tried to break Mayhew's patent by citing plausible unextinguished Gorges claims. Eventually the matter was settled in 1671 when the status quo was legally endorsed by the Duke's governor. In addition, Thomas Mayhew was granted the only patent

of nobility ever to be issued in New England. He was to be knows as the Baron of the Manor of Tisbury . His standing as chief magistrate on Martha's Vineyard, a position he had held without assistants, was now converted into a life-time Governorship. As for Nantucket, Tristram Coffin was named its first Chief Magistrate. The early leadership of Thomas Macy had ended. The Proprietary was recognized as a legal government as well as a land-holding corporation. Tristram Coffin was instructed to call a meeting of the "Free-holders, Purchases and Associates" for the election of two assistant magistrates, which was done. A similar election was held on Martha's Vineyard, and the two administrative-judicial bodies were instructed to hold a court twice yearly under the life-time presidency of Governor Thomas Mayhew. Nantucket was no longer virtually an independent republic, but essentially a patroonship of the New York colony.

As evidence of this fact, Nantucket was ordered to transmit to the Governor of New York annually four barrells of salt codfish as quit-rent dues. Six barrells was the quota from the Vineyard, two from both towns, and two from the Barony . A total of 1,960 lbs. of salted fish were expected each year from the islands, a high price to pay for the validation of patents jeopardized by the whim of an irresponsible monarch. Anticipating the exaction of quit-rents in salt fish, the Nantucket Proprietary, in its last act as a semi-independent body, invited Richard Gardner's brother, John Gardner, to emigrate from Salem to build a fishing wharf at the great harbor three miles eastward of the original settlement, and to insure the full catch of codfish needed. John Gardner was granted the fourteenth and last half-share ever issued by the Proprietary. Six possible half-shares were never issued at all. As a consequence to the uneven granting of proprietary shares, an original full share came to represent 3 1/2% of island ownership. At this valuation Tristram Coffin et al, held 30% of the island as well as all of Tuckernuck. From the very beginning Nantucketers had to accept the fact of magistrate Coffin's

financial domination of Nantucket life.

Now John Gardner was a fire-eater and a strict Calvinist, with a sense of self-importance inherited from his father, the first chief magistrate of the pre-Boston Cape Ann Colony. At least two conditions on Nantucket rankled in his mind. Folger's religious liberalism was naturally suspect. And he was resentful at the multiple vote which Tristram Coffin commanded on behalf of his absentee kinfolks who were also proprietors of the "patroonship" of Nantucket. Consequently when Gardner was commissioned to deliver eight barrels of salt fish in New York in the spring of 1673, to cover two years payment of quit-rents, he persuaded Governor Lovelace to name his brother Richard Gardner as chief magistrate in the place of Coffin. He himself was commissioned Captain of the Nantucket militia to replace a William Bunker, whose father had owned Bunker Hill in Boston. Indeed this was a skillful coup d'etat on the part of a newcomer. And to underscore the changes he had in mind, John Gardner further persuaded the Governor to designate the legal government of Nantucket, as the Town of Sherbourne. The Gardners had interestingly enough derived from Sherbourne in Dorsetshire in Old England. Then to destroy the power of the old proprietary and to lodge authority equally with both proprietors and mere inhabitants, Gardner produced specific instructions from Governor Lovelace to the effect that all proprietors must be resident, and that the Gardner brothers should be free to purchase additional lands from the Indians without consulting the Proprietary. In fact all land purchases in the future were to be allowed or disallowed in New York. Naturally John Gardner had the support of those settlers who held half-shares only, and he was naturally opposed by ex-magistrate Tristram Coffin and his associates. From this viewpoint, John Gardner was treacherously and basely ungrateful, in short a not untypical revolutionist. And what was hardest to bear was that Gardner was now properly in command of ammunition and arms on the island.

Directly upon Captain John Gardner's return in 1673 and his independent

purchase of the Fish lots in Nantucket town proper from the Indians, the Genreal Court met under the presidency of "Baron" Thomas Mayhew. Peter Folger as clerk of the Court, recorded that disagreements over the penalization of absentee proprietors so upset discussion, that Mayhew adjourned the court, after promising to present the Nantucket situation to the Governor of New York himself. Mayhew was obviously sympathetic to Doffin, his fellow "capitalist."

At this juncture, Nee York was temporarily recaptured by the Dutch, and Mayhew's intention had to be abandoned. For one thing, rioting broke out on Martha's Vineyard, as the earlier noted dissatisfied elements sought to remove the entrenched nepotism which ~~Ducal rule~~ Duke's Government had brought to them. An English ship, which had been impressed by the Dutch was wrecked on Nantucket during the moment of crisis. The Dutch were peomptly interned as enemy aliens by Captain Gardner, as it now appeared that absence of Ducal rule, had produced an independent democratic republic on Nantucket, the ideal for ~~cent~~ which some Vineyarders were working. And since Peter Folger was egalitarian at heart, he now allied himself definitely with the Gardner element, Calvinism notwithstanding.

Meanwhile the full share holders in the Proprietary began to take counsel to see if it would be possible to regain their political and economic momopoly. They found a ready ally in Stephen Hussey who had just arrived on the island, driven out of Barbadoes by a 4½% export duty levied there in 1672. Fresh from imprisonment in Boston for attending a meeting where the "cursed principles" of the people called Quakers were expressed, he was ready for aggressive action. Early in the summer of 1674, the absentee proprietors arrived in a body ~~ostensibly~~ to attend sheep shearing. Their chief business actually was to sent off a secret paper to Governor Andros, Lovelace successor in New York, in which they stated their case as dispossessed owners of the island. It is noteworthy that the liberal Baptists; Thomas Macy, Edward Starbuck, and Thomas Coleman, did not sign the document. The secret appeal went to New York with

the blessing of Governor Mayhew who utilized this opportunity ~~a technicality~~ to state that the Gardner administration made it impossible for the General Court of the islands to be held. Peter Folger suspected something shady was in process, So he refused to allow Tristram Coffin to examine the legal records of the island, which as Clerk of the Court, he was impowered to hold. The duplicate off-island records kept by the Proprietary on the north shore had to be imported consequently. When the secret documents were fully collated, Stephen Hussey carried them to Governor Andros.

That worthy personage not fully understanding the seriousness of the power-struggle on Nantucket, wrote back that the Lovelace patents stood, and that they were intended to confirm the original powers of the Proprietary. Instead of suggesting that proxies for absentee proprietors were legal, he ~~sounded off on~~ Emphasized the necessity of sending revolters to trial in New York. What he had in mind, obviously, was the anti-Mayhew rioters on Martha's Vineyard. These, Mayhew had wisely pardoned. Governor Andros' reply was cold comfort to the full share proprietors, who were further discomforted when news leaked out on the island ~~concerning~~ regarding their underhanded inquiry and representation.

The town of Sherbourne now issued its version of the situation and sent Peter Folger to New York during the summer of 1675. The new petition was penned by the messenger himself. Like his grandson, Benjamin Franklin, Peter Folger was shrewd, waggish, and good at listening. Both his very moderately worded paper, and his mild pleasing personality made a tremendous impression on the New York Governor. His companions on the trip were Thomas Macy, now fully won over to democracy, and the indefatigable John Gardner.

As soon as the town decided to enter the controversy, Tristram Coffin took off for Edgartown, where in company with Governor Mayhew, he produced still another document, in essence a ringing denunciation of John Gardner as a plotting demagogue, who not only seized the rights of the Nantucket owners, but inspired the riots on Martha's Vineyard during the Dutch recovery in 1674.

Coffin 2nd Mayhew

They reiterated the fact that no paper proper General Court could be held. As the lieutenant-governor of New York had already met Mayhew in Boston and approved his case, Andros was practically forced to write a vaguely encouraging reply to Mayhew and Coffin. Both of these men with a Mayhew-son-in-law had raced to New York, arriving before the Sherbourne Town Committee by a matter of hours.

Having failed to move Governor Andros, the full-share proprietors pursued a new tactic. Their attention now shifted toward Thomas Macy, the founder of the settlement, who though a full share owner had gone over to the Gardner camp. It so happened that in order to purchase his original share due to his shortness of cash in connection with harboring Quakers, Macy had had to mortgage himself to the hilt to Tristram Coffin. Coffin now threatened to foreclose if Macy would not abandon the democratic party. He also played on Macy's anti-alcoholic principles, pointing out that Captain Gardner was selling liquor to the Indians as part of his policy to court popularity. At any rate, as evidence of a gradual shift of power Thomas Macy replaced Richard Gardner as Chief magistrate in 1676, while it was evident that Coffin had also pressured his son-in-law, Nathaniel Starbuck, away from his liberal father and the democratic party.

As the situation on Nantucket was approaching a showdown, all New England repechoed to the terrible war-whoops of King Philip and his savage followers. Peter Folger suddenly found himself to be the most respected of the islanders, because of his influence with the Nantucket tribes. Folger's advice was for Nantucket to declare itself neutral and to keep a close check on the natives. This was easy for him to do as he preached weekly at one of the four Indian congregations. Meanwhile, a veritable flood of off-island proprietors and their connections arrived on Nantucket. Probably the island population doubled. Such names as Pinkham, Cartwright, Trott, and Gayer were introduced. When

Dartmouth town in the Buzzards Bay area was sacked, the anti-Mayhew forces on the Vineyard were terrified because Mayhew armed his Christian Indians. On Nantucket, Captain Gardner cached an arsenal on Gull Island near the Great Harbor.

The war next produced the one literary effort of Nantucket in the 1661-1760 period, eliciting now Further reverberations sharpened the conflict between the democratic and proprietary parties on the island. It seems that a group of Boston puritan ministers had issued a small inflamatory pamphlet entitled Balm in Gilead, which sought to prove that King Philip's depredations were a manifestation of the wrath of an irate Diety, who was angered because the Bay Colony had become lax in hunting down and cutting off such heretics as the Quakers and the Baptists. Stung by this age-old devise of "scapegoatism", Peter Folger produced a pamphlet called a "Looking Glass for the Times". As a true humanitarian and democrat, Folger ascribed the war to man's inhumanity to man, explicitly in the form of white depredations upon the Indians. The heart of Folger's thesis was that Boston engaged in persecution, because the magistrates refused to face up to the evil in their past conduct and intentions of evil in their future conduct. He was particularly explicit in calling for the repeal of anti-heretical laws, while reproaching the puritan pastors for their vested interest in the Church as "hirelings". Folger paid special tribute to the Quaker martyrs on Boston Common, as described in the Quaker publication New England Judged in the Spirit of the Lord. As antidote to prosecuting the war he suggested trusting God, repealing harsh laws, and a close application of the golden rule. The work was written in the spring of 1676 and probably printed in Boston that summer.

Hardly had the "Looking Glass" appeared but Folger found himself the object of angry condemnation for daring to speak to his social betters so unceremoniously. His chief critic on Nantucket was the ex-chief Justice of New Hampshire, Judge Peter Coffin, son of Tristram, who had fled to Nantucket in the face of the

Indians War. Peter Coffin was by far the ablest politician yet to arrive on the island. His brillance tended to outshine Stephen Hussey, who began to resent in turn his relegation to a back-seat when the full share proprietors continued to meet in secret conclave.

Hussey's resentment broke out in 1676 when he told Captain Gardner to "meddle with your own Busynesse" when Gardner criticized him for granting, without the town's permission, consent for James Cartwright to put hogs out on the Commons. And the impending show-down was reached in the island's affairs when Thomas Macy, then the chief magistrate, refused to prosecute Hussey for contempt of magistracy, which Captain Gardner in anger had demanded of his superior. At last, Mohn Gardner had overplayed his hand. The town meeting backed Macy's refusal to ~~accede to~~ GRANT Captain Gardner's demand. This restored Stephen Hussey to a pleasant frame of mind. Then the town took away Gardner's franchize to procure cod-fish as stipulated in his half-share contract of 1671. The fishing right was forthwith granted to Macy himself, in partnership with Peter Coffin, the new full-shares leader from New Hampshire. Finally the town ordered Peter Folger to deliver up the legal records of the Court.

This, however, Peter refused to do, maintaining he was legally responsible only to the General Court of the islands which had not met since its initial session, due to Thomas Mayhew having refused to convene the Court. In the town meeting that autumn of 1676, Folger also refused as town clerk, to record the election of Peter Coffin as Assistant Magistrate on the grounds that Judge Coffin was currently a member of the legislature of New Hampshire. Voting that day was handled by Stephen Hussey, who was so cocksure of the success of the Proprietary that he was distinctly uncivil to Folger and possibly dishonest in counting the black or yellow kernels of corn used in colonial voting procedures.

To Peter Coffin, Folger's conduct was impudent and insufferable. Already Coffin had singled out Folger's ideas in "The Looking Glass" for ridicule, and now he found himself prevented from assuming a small civic post, by a contemptable Baptist preacher. Obviously the thing to do was to have Folger removed from his clerkship. Gardner had been forced out of his captaincy and his economic security. The one remaining effective block to resumption of the original and rightful power of the proprietary was an obstinate clerk. Underneath his anger, Peter Coffin knew that he must get hold of the legal records of the island. Nobody was absolutely sure what they contained regarding processes of Indian title purchase, and the rights of owners under the Lovelace patents. At any rate there was no absentee owner problem in 1676. They were all living together in the comparable safety of the far away island.

The Nantucket Court at Peter Coffin's behest ordered the records returned on pain of loss of the clerkship. Folger was adamant. When Thomas Macy came to get the books and was refused, Peter was arrested and thrown into the stinking jail from which some pigs were ejected then and there. Folger's case was referred to New York and he was held under a $500.00 bond.

It happened then that an agent of the Governor of New York put into harbor to collect the quit-rent which because of the war conditions had not been delivered. Apparently the agent carried a half-barrell of rum consigned to John Gardner for distribution among the Nantucket Indians. New York was not aware that Captain Gardner had lost his military post. Magistrate Thomas Macy got a whiff of the liquor, and promptly siezed the rum under legal warrant. As the agent was naturally annoyed, he agreed to carry secretly a letter to New York from John Gardner, in which Garnder claimed Macy siezed the liquor illegally and he, ex-captain Gardner, was afraid for his own liberty. The agent also carried a letter from Peter Folger, smuggled from his prison, in which he begged the Governor not to try him in New York, as the new Macy regime, plus his own imprisonment, had made his friends, the Nantucket Indians, dangerously

restless. A third secret paper signed by Richard Gardner, Thomas Coleman and Edward Starbuck indicated they were of the opinion that any law court would favor Folger, unless his case were tried on Martha's Vineyard under Governor Mayhew.

When the town and especially Peter Coffin got wind of the three papers to be delivered in New York by the Governor's agent, their vindictiveness was raised to a high pitch. Both John Gardner and Peter Folger were thereupon disenfranchized, and the latter was put under strict guard. Richard and Sarah Gardner were summoned for contempt of magistracy. Evidently she was the power behind the throne, for though Richard was acquitted, she was publicly adminished. Thomas Coleman was put on a blond of good behavior, while for some unknown reason, Edward Starbuck went scot free. Eleazer Folger, Peter's schoolteacher son, was fined heavily, and forced to make public apology for criticizing the full-share owners. And Tobias Coleman, Thomas'son was likewise before the court— Shades of the persucutions of the Quakers, which had brought Nantucket into being as a free experiment in toleration! There must have been much heart searching as the community found itself divided even religously into two camps. Macy, the turn-coat, preached to the full share party, while a smaller group gathered each First and Fifth day of the week outside the little jail where Folger lay.

The overly stern disciplinary actions taken by the town of Sherbourne in 1667 at the behest of Magistrate Peter Coffin, accurred before John Gardner's letter reached Governor Andros. In fact the letter was ~~interpreted~~ intercepted on the Vineyard . One of the paragraphs of the letter contained reference to an authentic instance of Judge Coffin's speaking some rash words against Andros, while Coffin was resident in New Hampshire. Consequently, Peter Coffin prepared to go to New York to make a good impression personally, before a possible second letter from John Gardner should reach the New York official. Meanwhile Judge Coffin sent off a preliminary letter stating that John Gardner was inciting the Nantucket Indians to join King Philip in his war.

There may have been a grain of truth in this otherwise irresponsible accusation, for the Indians suddenly asked to see the original 1659-1661 deed of purchase, claiming that it was signed by unauthorized chieftains. Now this deed was to be found among the private papers of John Gardner, he having procured it from Peter Folger. Naturally the full-share proprietors were embarrassed as they could not produce the deed. And furthermore they knew that when copies of the Nantucket documents between 1659 and 1671 had been sent to New York, the gloss of this particular deed had been faulty. In response to the new emergency, in which Indian unrest was rising daily, the full-share proprietors begged Gobernor Mayhew to re-convene the 1673 session of the General Court on Nantucket. This was done. Peter Folger had won his legal point. The Court, which presumably he would recognize, hailed him out of prison and into their august presence, and thereupon asked him for the Court records. Folger simply kept silent, and when back in jail, later explained that since the constituent local court on Nantucket was, in his eyes, improperly constituted he could not consider the jurisdiction of the superior Court to be valid. Rather he asked that the validity of the General Court be referred to Governor Andros. Incidentally the General Court had then and there removed Folger as its Clerk and replaced him with the Harvard educated heir of the manor of Tisbury Matthew Mayhew. The Court then appealed to Governor Andros, seeking his aid in getting the legal papers stating that Folger had criminally falsified the records of the Court. Mayhew's anti-Baptist bias showed clearly at this point.

Meanwhile as Peter Coffin had feared, John Gardner composed a second letter to New York complaining again at his loss of the rum, ~~and further stated~~ that Judge Coffin was anti-Andros at heart, and finally informed the Governor that the 1659-1661 deed to the white occupation of Nantucket was in his own private possession. This last, John Gardner did because news had leaked out

that he had secreted the deed, And when the town issued a warrant to relieve him of it, he had refused, stating that the governor in New York should first be consulted. As it happened, Tristram Coffin (with John Swain) had written Andros immediately that they believed that Gardner had burned the previous document. Naturally, John Gardner had to assure the perplexed royal official that Coffin and Swain were in error.

Gardner's refusal to deliver the deed brought a second rash of recriminations upon the democratic leaders. The ex-captain was fined $2,500.00 for contempt of court, but though he refused to pay the fine the town hesitated to jail him. Peter Folger was offered leniency if he would reconsider and deliver the legal documents still in his possession. Upon his refusal, he was fined $250.00 and returned to his jail cell. Eventually the town distrained one of his best pigs. And they searched John Gardner's house to no avail, ~~and~~ Then they appropriated eight of his cattle and one sheep. As well ~~Then~~ the full-share party dealt with the Indian claims in an equally high-handed manner.

Judge Coffin, as it happened, put off going to New York, ~~and~~ so that the next move was consequently made by Governor Andros himself, That worthy ~~who~~ showed every indication of having ~~missing~~ missed the true inwardness of what had developed on the farthest distant patroonship of his domain. In his favor, it may be said, that Andros did what he could to preserve the the peace. First he recognized the election of Judge Coffin and others as magistrates at the initial town meeting in 1676, to have been valid. Consequently, he undercut Folger's contention that the local court was improperly constituted. In fact, Andros specifically declared that court to be legally operative. Second he recognized Thomas Macy as the legal chief magistrate, though the democratic party had claimed with justice, that the Proprietary had been so cocksure of themselves that they had neglected ~~the proprietary of~~ the yearly corraboration required by the New York office. Third Andros suspended all further legal action against both Folger and Gardner,

until he had had opportunity to scrutinize their cases himself in New York.

This legal reprieve was the opportunity John Gardner had hoped for. Consequently he slipped away quietly, and a few days later converted Andros personally to the democratic view of the case. On his jubilant return, he met with an angry tongue-lashing from the Baron of Tisbury and his heir, whom Gardner met by chance as he stopped "to gloat" on the Vineyard. Andros' new instructions were to the effect that all legal actions against Folger and Gardner had been in excess of the authority of the courts, and the Governor promised to bring justice in the case of the still-imprisoned Peter Folger. John Gardner's jubilation was premature, as it happened, and soon turned to frustrated fury, for the sealed paper which he had carried from Andros put Tristram Coffin in Macy's place as chief magistrate on Nantucket. Gardner had gone "from the frying pan into the fire", for Coffin interpreted his appointment as justification of Folger's imprisonment, and the disenfranchisement of the two men. Once again it was evident that Governor Andros had little or no real understanding of what was transpiring on Nantucket. This time Gardner wrote a letter in furious anger to New York in which he pulled no punches, and he got results at last. Governor Andros ordered Folger released and his and Gardner's property and citizenship rights restored. Whether or not Eleazer Folger got his fine forgiven apparently is not known, but he returned to such public favor as to serve as the first Nantucket representative in the Massachusetts General Court after 1692. But to return to 1678:- the initial struggle was now over. The Proprietary was, it is true, entrenched in its original rights, but the democratic leaders were free from their legal handicaps at least, in their struggle for a wider management and ownership of the island. The one still-operative innovation achieved by the Gardner-Folger party was the right of private persons to purchase land from the Indians, a right first exercised by John Gardner himself. Now, embarrassingly enough, the practice had been taken up by that rank individualist Stephen Hussey, who though a full

share proprietor himself, was making it awkward for them, by engaging in wild cat real estate schemes, which for the most part only aggravated the unsettled Indian problems.

As for the controversy over the 1659-1661 Indian title, the matter was cleared up directly upon the reinstatement of Folger and Gardner early in 1678, when they turned over their respective legal papers and books to Matthew Mayhew , legal clerk of the General Court. Though both the original deed and the first General Court record book have vanished, from Nantucket there is some indication that they may yet turn up on the Vineyard. Actually Folger's release did move to make the Indians peaceful than the confirmation of the authentic original deed, as he was their particular friend and preacher. Still one other important matter then had to be settled. As the town had confiscated John Gardner's fishing franchise, which they wished to leave with Thomas Macy, they felt duty-bound to grant him land and the right to build a fulling mill at Polpis up the harbor.

The mutual thankfulness which the town and the democratic leaders felt as each forgave the other led directly to a series of conferences in which the basic problem of land ownership and control were fully discussed, and a satisfactory formula arrived at: which formula ~~was~~ served as the basis of all subsequent land holding on Nantucket. The committee entrusted with the responsibility of finding a permanent creative synthesis of the divergent viewpoints was headed by two men. John Gardner was one of these, as the talks hinged on his proposal that the Proprietary accept his fish lots and Wesko lots next the great harbor as possible future residence properties, to be surveyed and divided in fee simple. It was hoped their allocation would go far to equalize land control and ownership. Tristram Coffin, was naturally the other chairman, though he was still suspicious of John Gardner's intentions. The rest of the group was selected with equal care. Thomas Macy was included as he was the current operator of the fishing rights in the area. Another member, William Worth had been the

founder of the fishing industry. It was a stroke of genius to include Stephen Hussey, the land promoter. And to smooth troubled waters, the Latin scholar William Gayer was appointed. Peter Folger was named to act in the capacity of surveyor. Apparently John Gardner envisaged the present town of Nantucket, when there was only a landing-stage and a few huts at that location. If any one person may be called the founder of Nantucket town, that man's name was John Gardner.

It may be recalled that the first settlement was made on Madaket harbor, where each householder had received an acre in fee simple. It was soon discovered, however, that a location a mile and a half eastward on what is now Capaum Pond, was healthier, higher in elevation, and better for fresh water and anchorage. Consequently the original lots were exchanged for others lying generally between Hummock Pond and what was then Capaum Harbor. The straggling settlement of Sherbourne lay there in 1678, and was only joined to Macy's fish-stage by Center Street which was laid out in that year as an eastward extension of the present West Chester Street.

All the rest of the island except for special purchases in fee simple up the harbor, belonged either to the Indians in common, or the proprietors in common. And has been suggested earlier each full share of land represented 3-7/10% of the section of the island owned by the white settlers. The first portion of the Land Compact of 1678 had to do with the acquiring of further purchases from the Indians. It was agreed that each purchase was to be divided equally in fee simple among the owners, or added to the common land, and the rights to pasture more sheep divided equally among the owners. Naturally the latter course was more practicable, as most island areas were unsuited to potential real estate developments. Add the rights to pasture sheep - called colloquially "Sheep Commons" - were highly negotiable. Actually the agreement was democratic in the extreme on the face of things, but in effect it

kept the status quo. And the financially able were always prepared to buy up a new issue of "Sheep Commons" certificates. Furthermore, the plan put a stop to Stephen Hussey's private ~~dickers with~~ purchases from the chiefs. In the name of democracy, the Proprietary had once again ~~gotten~~ achieved control of all land purchases.

The second portion of the Land Compact of 1678 raised the value of a half share of land from one half the value of a full share, to two-thirds such value. To achieve this revolution of potential ownership without depressing the full share titles was a major achievement. It was done by allocating the "Sheep Commons" representing newly-purchased lands solely to the fourteen half share owners, or their heirs and assigns. This went far to satisfy the hopes of the democratic party.

The third portion of the compact settled the question of voting. Each property owner was to have one vote in town meeting. No person was to be admitted as a voter except by the body politic itself. Here was the major achievement of the Gardner-Folger party.

The fourth and final area of agreement included a systematic method for listing properties held in fee simple. It was agreed that the Starbuck, Coffin and Mayhew grants in the upper harbor were to revert to the Proprietary at a rate of fourteen "Sheep Commons" certificates per acre. Such a transfer made complete the monopoly of land desired by the Proprietary. The title tranfers took effect immediately, except in Mayhews case, and his heirs sold out in 1682. It was agreed that no land should be granted in fee simple unless the town so voted. In other words a policy was adopted to prevent the formation of large private landed estates. Again the democratic party approved. Nevertheless the large holders of full shares such as Tristram Coffin were automatically insured the wealth, which a broad sweep of commons brought to the large sheep herd owners.

Altogether the compromise was reasonally satisfactory. It provided a framework in which to deal with problems as they rose on the island. It did

not, of course, envisage a rapidly growing population expanding under the impetus of a completely transformed economy.

Hardly was the compromise under way when a French privateer, captained by a pirate Englishman, and carrying Dutch prisoners, was wrecked off the Sotth Shore. Carrying a cargo of hides valued at $16,128.00, she offered a pleasant prospect of salvage. Two incidents of importance occurred. William Worth was badly injured during salvage operations, and at night the Indians stole a good deal more than their share. Although it was customary to register wrecks in New York, Chief Magistrate Tristram Coffin neglected his duty, possibly as rumors were flying about in 1680 that the islands were to be joined to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Meanwhile William Worth got impatient over lack of compensation for his injuries and wrote Governor Andros seeking the governor's assistance. Naturally Worth's letter brought down Governor Andros' wrath upon the aging Coffin. Coffin's letter in reply was full of apologies. Nevertheless Andros appointed a special court of Admiralty to visit Nantucket. The town, now alarmed, appointed the man best equipped to save the day ~~in the figure of~~ namely John Gardner, who incidentally had become an assistant magistrate in 1679, over the protests of both Tristram Coffin and Thomas Mayhew.

John Gardner charmed Andros as usual, and returned as one of the appointees to the four man Admiralty Court Board. The decisions of the Board were to pay William Worth $2,000.00 damages, and to hold Tristram Coffin liable for losses on the salvage to the extent of $17,150.00. Perhaps Coffin did have reason to suspect John Gardner's good faith! And old Tristram would have been the second white man thrust into the Nantucket jail if his son James Coffin who had come on the island with Judge Peter, had not quickly stepped into the financial breach. Judge Peter Coffin had, ~~by the way, left~~ was to leave permanently for New Hampshire once John Gardner's star was again fully ~~in the~~ ascendant.

John Gardner was now named Chief Magistrate to succeed his former rival Tristram Coffin. Immediately Gardner set off to New York again, where he got

Tristram's debt reduced to $7,500.00, of which he paid $3,750.00 on the spot. Upon Gardner's return to Nantucket Coffin Received him as a "Loving Neighbour". Eventually Gardner managed to wangle back the $3,750.00 from Governor Andros, and the case was completely forgiven. Then Tristram finished his course in life in 1681 as Assistant Magistrate under his old enemy. Six months later, Thomas Macy lay beside Tristram in the old cemetery overlooking Capaum harbor. And the first Baron of Tisbury shed this mortal coil in 1682. The second period of Nantucket political life was completed.

1782 also marked the replacement of Sir Edmund Andros by deputy Governor Dongan. Upon the death of Governor Mayhew, John Gardner and James Coffin applied for a certification of the Lovelace patent, and for the right of presiding over the General Court when held on Nantucket. Two years later these petitions were granted. Then in 1687 a new patent was issued creating a corporation before the law, known as the "Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Land of Nantucket". The corporation was instructed to appoint seven Trustees who were to act as selectmen for the Town of Sherbourne, which was legally part of the corporation. The manor or patroonship, of which the town had been an integral part finished its course (1671-1687) under the leadership of John Gardner. The clerk of the Proprietary and Town Meeting was now the most important figure on Nantucket. This vitally important position was held by Captain John Gardner from 1687 to 1696 when he was replace by the more easy-going scholar William Gayer. As for the judicial life of Nantucket it was merged with that of the Vineyard in the creation of a separate and much less powerful body known as the County of Dukes County.

Meanwhile the Trustees prepared a further elaboration of the rights and privileges of the Proprietary which were promulgated in 1689. As early as 1678 when the Land Compact was drawn up, it was agreed that the actual complement of sheep allowed to graze per full share was to be cut in half, that

is from 720 to 360 sheep. A half share was cut only from 360 to 240 sheep at the same time in accordance with the new two-thirds evaluation. In 1689 it was agreed to cut the complement again about 60%. Each full share entitled its owner to a diversified pasturage of 100 sheep, 40 head of cattle and 2 horses. A half-share then counted for 52 sheep, 20 head cattle, and 1 horse. At this rate each full share contahed 312 negotiable "sheep commons" (each cow equalling two sheep, and each horse sixteen sheep, or eight cows) and each half share 208 negotiable "sheep commons". Altogether there were 9,352 negotiable shares of common land theoretically available to the inhabitants of Nantucket. Naturally, the deaths of a number of the original proprietors, plus the practice of selling and buying sheep commons, was evolving a complex ownership situation in which it was impracticable for each owner to exercise fairly his one vote in matters of the Proprietary. Actually all land decisions lay with the Trustees, who though elected at large, were after 1687 responsible to themselves for the transaction of land business, or rather to those large owners of "sheep commons" certificates who were in an position to bring financial pressure to bear. As in the years before 1678 the Coffin heirs, centering about Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, and her husband, Nathaniel Starbuck, found themselves in virtual control of the land and the wealth of Nantucket. No doubt the peculiar sense, of responsibility which this situation produced in the mind of Mary Starbuck, had a great deal to do with the direction in which the island was to move. Until 1690 she did not feel the full impact of her situation. In that year both Edward Starbuck and Peter Folger passed beyond the cares of this life.

1690 also marked the most important economic development in the history of the island. Following upon an abortive attempt in 1672, Nathaniel Starbuck subsidized the coming of Ichabod Paddock of Barnstable, Cape Cod, to introduce the art of surf-boat whaling. As early as 1667 a stranded whale had produced awareness in some of the islanders regarding the potential wealth just off shore.

After 1690 the potential became actual. The island was divided into four jurisdictions. At the center of each stood a tall look-out pole. When one of the six Indians on guard shouted "Awaite Powona", the surf boats were launched, and if in luck, a whale was dragged to shore, to be cut up and boiled down in the try pot next the lookouts. By 1698 an appreciable prosperity was realized from the additional cash income which whale oil produced.

The raised standard of living is evident in the architecture of the so-called oldest house built in 1686, the timbering for which was given by Judge Peter Coffin for a peace offering as his son Jethro took Margaret, Captain John Gardner's daughter to wife. Captain Gardner provided the land. The house gives us some impression of late 17th Century Sherbourne with its half-timbers shingled against New England weather, it's leaded glass panes, and central horseshoe marked chimney which supports the timbering. It has a district Jacobean flavor. Unfortunately other contemporary houses, such as the so-called Tobey House on upper Main Street at Gardner Street have been so rebuilt when moved to the present site of Nantucket as to nearly obscure their original appearance. The Tobey House merits particular reference as it was the original home of Nathaniel and Mary Starbuck, and consequently the center of economic activity and political life in the latter years of the 17th Century.

It was in this house in 1695 that Nantucket County began its separate existence from the County of Dukes County. Already three years before the island had gone under the jurisdiction of the newly constituted Royal Colony of Massachusetts which incorporated Martha's Vineyard and Plymouth as well. At that time the only change on Nantucket to mark the cessation of New York authority was the reduction of Proprietary Trustees from seven to five, to more nearly suit the Massachusetts type of Town Meeting . New York was not happy to lose the islands. Even though the Royal Governor of Massachusetts wrote strong letters of protest, New York continued to meddle in island affairs and

even to demand the four barrells of salt cod-fish as late as 1731. The setting up of Nantucket county marked the end of a never too happy partnership with the Vineyard. To the last, Chief Magistrate Matthew Mayhew protested the break, saying "Nantuckett being few people in number and having maryed in the relation of first and second cousins, and otherwise, are so nearly related...etc, no jury competant can be made up". At least the domestic situation was correctly described.

Both the Dutch War of 1664-1667 and that of 1673-1675 played important roles in the history of the island. Now the French War of 1689-1697 brought its reverberations. A French privateer landed at Polpis near the John Swain house and John Gardner's mill to get supplies. Two Nantucketers were temporarily impressed. This was in 1695, when fortifications were thrown up at strategic points and armed guards kept, 1695 also marks the purchase of the Society, fifteen ton sloop from Salem, first fair-sized island-owned sloop.

Nantucket from 1690 to 1698 was a community adrift. A major social struggle had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, but the founders, at least the guiding personalities, were dead and gone. There was no resident minister nor was there any one person, except Mary Starbuck who was competant to give direction to the spiritual direction which the island should take. Whaling prosperity spelled wealth. Nantucket had no experience in dealing with worldly success. The island was now a county, the only county composed of one township in America, and the island had of necessity to stand alone in dealing directly with the Boston government, from which the original settlers had migrated a generation before. Above all the state of war threw into sharp outline those problems which might otherwise have been overlooked.

Evidently supply Baptist ministers come periodically from 1690-1704 in return for their maintenance. And Mary Starbuck invited puritan divines to preach also. She went critically to listen and to discover which faith should offer the inner discipline and moral fibre needed on the island. As early as

1682 a group of Quaker ministers XXXXXXX traveling in the Quaker town of Dartmouth had requested permission to preach on Nantucket, but were turned down flatly by John Gardner, then chief magistrate. Apparently his prejudice was so firmly fixed that it was not until 1698 that visiting Friends were allowed onto the island. With their arrival, we begin the story of Nantucket Quakerism as such. Before they arrived, and for three years afterwards, Mayy Starbuck remained the leading Baptist Churchwoman, having been baptized by Peter Folger at her own request. Folger had already prepared her for the Quaker doctrine of the Inward Light, by adhering to the belief that the "spirit of the Lord...is our highest Light". In one sense the whole story of Nantucket is a recurring evaluation of group responsbility as envisaged by Mary Starbuck. It was her seeking religious spirit which brought to Nantucket the delayed action of the Quaker revolution in Massachusetts. Teh island community having ceased to be a pawn in the dynamic of the expanding British mercantilism, was psychologically prepared to focus attention away from the drama of life outside, to the fascinating pilgrimage of the life of the spirit.

From the viewpoint of Mary Starbuck, Nantucket had traveled close to the rocks of social anarchy. As wife of the whaling trade founder and disciple of Peter Folger, her sympathies were naturally drawn toward the democratic party. As daughter of Tristram Coffin and participant in the heart of Nantucket's economic benefits, she understood with equal sympathy the position held by the Proprietors. Had she kept a journal, the years from 1661 to 1698 would have been preserved for us, uniquely, as she stood midway between the two contending parties. Midway her commanding figure welcomed the Quaker visitors of 1698.

CHAPTER III

"NEW ENGLAND JUDGED..."

1698-1708

Our attention has been focused upon the transplanting of Quakerism from the mainland and from England to the island of Nantucket. As no unit of society exists independently, in a vacuum as it were, it is well to discuss briefly the background pattern of life as it was developing in New England, especially in the Massachusetts to which Nantucket owed allegiance. The enlarged Bay Colony having adjusted to a semi-royal charter in 1691, suffered for the next six years under the governorship of Sir William Phipps, who was eminently unqualified for his post. During his regime Nantucket emerged as a separate county. A two years interregnum was followed in 1699 by the arrival of the Earl of Bellomont, who tried unsuccessfully to revive Sir Edmund Andros' New England Confederation. The Earl died in New York in 1701, and then Lt. Governor Stoughton carried on for a year, till the very warlike, but able servant of the crown, Governor Joseph Dudley took office in 1702. He was governor of Massachusetts when Mary Starbuck embraced Quakerism, when Thomas Story founded the meeting for worship, and when Patrick Henderson carried the request to Newport fof a Nantucket Monthly Meeting. In fact Story talked with Dudley in 1704 to persuade him to release some conscientious objectors to war, men who had been dragged to Boston by the Dartmouth township officials. Dudley had an unprintable opinion of pacifism, as he already had his hands full with a recalcitrant General Court in his attempt to finance the war. He must have regarded Friends as an impossible nuisance. It will be recalled that war with the French had broken out again in 1701 after four years of an uneasy truce. This latter war which continued till 1714, is variously known as the War of the Spanish Succession or Queen Anne's War. It's effect in New England was to bring down upon the frontier settlements the tomahawk and torch of the French Canadians and Indians. In

1703 the merciless Abanaki of Maine took to the warpath. And by 1706 the violent warfare broke with such fury all along the frontier as nearly to cost Dudley his position as representative of the Crown. His subsequent expedition against Nova Scotia in 1707 failed, while by 1708 a second attempt was planned, which incidentally never materialized. It was against this background, first of administrative incompetency, and then of desperate savage warfare, that Nantucket embraced a discipline of non-violence. Apparently very little of the current unrest afflicted the island. We have the testimony of John Richardson that he was mistaken for a French privateer. Perhaps one such was wrecked in 1704 off the south shore when horses, barrells and lumber came ashore. Otherwise Nantucket, not yet launched on its ocean-going whaling career, appeared to have suffered little. Starbuck cousins from Dover, New Hampshire, who visited in 1708, could report some of their Quaker neighbors had been taken prisoners, but eventually had been released unharmed. The best known person so taken was destined to visit Nantucket in later years, interestingly enough.

In Boston the center of "defence" operations, there was a proliferation of governmental agencies in the decade in question. In 1699 the Superior Court of Judicature came into being to hear appeals from the various Inferior Courts of Common Pleas. It was actually a Provincial Supreme Court, linking the town proprietors and the Crown, judicially speaking. In 1703 a special Admiralty Court was set up in Boston for all of New England, though there is little evidence that royal revenues were increased thereby in the early 18th Century. Probably one third of Boston trade, was, strictly speaking, illegal in the year 1700, so adept had become the colonists in the art of smuggling. As evidence of the foreign trade engaged upon, most transactions if not barter, were made with Spanish coin, while credit and discounts on paper money come in for their share of usefulness. The

Dutch "doler" was common enough to develop eventually into our American dollar. Cargoes went to Europe at $150.00 cost per ton, and a bit higher to the West Indies. The cost of outfitting whalers will be discussed somewhat farther on.

It is enough to observe that increasing profits offset the increased taxes involved in a war economy. Massachusetts collected $600,000.00 in taxes in 1698, which figure was increased to $900,000.00 ten years later. There were 90 towns in the Colony in 1698. Ten more were settled by 1708. Obviously the rate of taxation had materially increased. Probably Nantucket paid considerably less than $5,000.00, which roughly speaking was the average cost to each town in 1698. Such a figure would have nearly reached $8,500.00 the year Nantucket Monthly Meeting was born.

As for the management of public affairs in Boston, they were in the hands of men like Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall, men who appear as definitely inferior to their grandfathers, the founders of the Puritan zion. They were in some degree responsible for the Salem witchcraft horror, though they eventually saw the error of their ways. Judge Sewall particularly, despite the act which in 1698 declared children of slaves to be born to that dishonorable status, in 1702 was author of the first anti-slavery pamphlet written in New England, entitled the Selling of Joseph. There were perhaps 400 slaves in Boston in 1708, mostly from Barbadoes and perhaps a dozen or so on Nantucket. The decade witnessed a crystalizing slavery code, as Massachusetts decreed expulsion for any free inhabitant who married a slave as of 1705. The duty that year on imported negro slaves ran $200.00 a head, while three years earlier the manumission per individual involved the owner in a bond posted at $2,500.00.

Above the slave class were those transients who contributed less than $20.00 a year to the body politic which payment enabled any individual to be

termed a freeman. Any transient if reported as a loiterer, beggar, or palmist was subject to detention in the town jail. Nantucket was not yet plagued with such waterfront characters. In later years her civic regulations were to take account of them. The freemen were specifically discouraged from allowing their daughter to marry any transient visitor. Even so the freeman were regarded as among the lesser sort of people, for they were fined for wearing silks, laces, or jewels. The Quaker view of superfluities was apparently only a leveling down of the so-called upper classes to that standard which was expected of the freeman and his family. For the freeman to achieve the vote, he must register improved real estate valued at $2,000.00 or pay $80.00 tax on land holdings annually. The 1691 charter had enlarged upon the earlier religious requirement for citizenship. Above the freeman was the gentleman, who was frequently a town proprietor, a magistrate, and a proto-capitalist. He was the backbone of opposition to the governor, and the economic regulations of the British Board of Trade which had come into being in 1696. In Massachusetts he was also the backbone of the rigid Congregational State Church, which still looked down upon dissent with loathing. However, there were unmistakable signs that the old uniformity was a matter of the past. In 1699 the Brattle Street Church in Boston under the Reverend Thomas Coleman, native Nantucketer, endorsed the half-way covenant, allowing persons who were unsure of their own election to become members. Another evidence of the charged times was an invitation to the Baptists a few years later to join the Boston puritans in celebrating the Thanksgiving festival. And the fact that Quakers were able to build a meetinghouse in Boston itself in 1695 signified a growing toleration.

Nevertheless it took genuine conviction to maintain one's status as a Baptist or Friend, though it was somewhat easier to be an Episcopalian as

several of the royal officials followed that persuation. The Society of Friends in Massachusetts numbering perhaps a thousand adherents in a population of seventy-five thousand had its origin in Sandwich on Cape Cod, then a part of Plymouth Colony. The town was settled by liberal puritans in 1636, who became a pastor-less Seeker Community in 1640. The leader of the group a certain proto-Quaker, Christopher Holder resisted a pastor who arrived in 1650, and was first to receive the first Quaker missionaries to New England in 1656. Incidentally Christopher Holder was the first man married by the Quaker ceremony in America, at Newport in 1660, when his bride Mary Scott, it turns out, was sister to the famous exile, Anne (Scott) Hutchinson, once of Salem in the Bay Colony. The six families who had practiced the Seekers silent worship, at Sandwich were the next year organized as Sandwich Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, the first in America. By that time twelve other families joined the fellowship. Immediately close bonds were established with Seekers groups in Newport and Portsmouth, Rhode Island, who came over as a body to Quakerism in 1657, and were organized as Rhode Island Monthly Meeting. And almost simultaneously small Quaker worship groups came into being on Long Island. They were naturally more closely allied with Newport than Sandwich.

In 1659, the year King Charles ordered Quaker persecutions to cease, Sandwich set up a colony of Quakers at Scituate, in the northern part of Plymouth Colony. In another year it had become a third New England Quaker Monthly Meeting. Another Sandwich off-spring was the meeting at Salem in the Bay Colony to which Sarah Gardner had belonged. It probably began activities in 1660, though may not have developed into a fully organized monthly business meeting till 1662, due to current anti-Quaker prejudices in the area. It was meanwhile under the care of Scituate Friends. Sandwich Monthly Meeting was host to George Fox, the founder of the Quaker movement in 1672, when

regular records were first instituted. Then in 1681 a group of Sandwich Friends settled in North Falmouth, starting a local meeting there. Two years later another group settled at the head of Bass River in Yarmouth Township to start another meeting there. All three groups Sandwich, Falmouth, and Yarmouth met monthly to transact group business. It is somewhat strange that Sandwich Monthly Meeting had practically no connection with the founding of Quakerism on Nantucket, especially as Yarmouth was located just across Nantucket Sound from Sherbourne. Lack of an economic bond suggests a partial answer. Another may be supplied by the fact that the Newport Friends were seagoing and possibly therefore more "evangelical" in their outreach. Another clue may be found in the developing Quarterly Meeting structure.

The first general business meeting for New England Friends was held at Newport in 1661. In 1681 a Quarterly Meeting for the area was established, the same year Long Island Friends set up Westbury Quarterly Meeting, then a component part of the New England Society. In 1683 the New England General Meeting became a full-fledged Yearly Meeting independent of London control. Then in 1699 Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting came into being separating Cape Cod Quakerism from the Narragansett region. In 1705 Salem Quarterly Meeting was created for North Shore Quakerism. The old now much shorn Quarterly Meeting e stablished in 1681 then included only Sandwich and Scituate Monthly Meetings. This being the case the name Sandwich was adopted and, the four "old colony" meetings were thus settled as the genesis of Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. Obviously the focus of the Quarterly Meeting was northward away from Nantucket. In fact only one Sandwich Friend got to Nantucket in the 1698-1708 period. He was Richard Harper of Falmouth who probably sailed Chalkley over on his second visit. We shall find, however, that several Nantucket Quaker families intermarried with the families of the Yarmouth local meeting, even in the very early years. Scituate connections come later.

Attention has already been called to a Quaker settlement in Dartmouth Township along side Buzzards Bay. That settlement dated only from 1698 when Christopher Holder's daughter, Mary, went there to live with her Rhode Island Quaker husband, Captain Peleg Slocumb. We have already encounted him on Nantucket with John Richardson. Their meeting at Apponegansett was an offshoot of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting, so that its history was intimately tied up with Rhode Island rather than Cape Cod Quakerism. Evidently the town was receptive to the Quaker message for eight local meetings were soon functioning as parts of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting set up in 1699. The bloodbath of King Philips War seems to have validated the Quaker peace principle. A central meetinghouse (35'x30') was erected in 1702, a structure which served as a model for Nantucket's first meetinghouse in 1711. In 1705, Preparative or local business meetings were set up in at least the more important of the eight local meetings. It was not until 1709 that the three Cape Cod meetings followed suit. Their central meetinghouse at Sandwich had been put up in 1704.

One of the local meetings in Dartmouth was Acushnet which came into being in 1703 and built a meetinghouse the next year. The chief contributor was Captain Thomas Hathaway, who with his wife followed Mary Starbuck's example in joining Friends. In fact Hephzibah was soon recognized as a minister. ~~She attended the opening of monthly meeting in 1708 on the island.~~ Thomas was town clerk of Dartmouth. Unfortunately the early records of town meeting there perished when his house went up in smoke in 1728. We consequently know much less of Dartmouth than we do of Nantucket history.

Until 1704 Dartmouth Monthly Meeting was held in the house of Peleg Slocumb, donor of the Apponegansett meetinghouse and grounds, and richest inhabitant of the township. Peleg and Mary Slocumb were the second most responsible off-island couple to nurture the birth of Quakerism on Nantucket.

He was on the island five times during the initial decade, chiefly to transport visitors in his "shallop", while his wife came onto the island at least once.

Although it is a natural temptation to travel on westward to take account of others of the Slocumb family in Rhode Island, it is better to limit for the moment our account to Quakerism in Massachusetts (and its dependencies). Salem Monthly Meeting had evolved on the North Shore in 1662 as before noticed. Almost immediately local Quaker groups sprang up in Hampton, just across the New Hampshire line, in Amesbury and in Boston, all responsible to Salem Monthly Meeting. John Swain had been one of the founding members of the Amesbury local meeting. The little group in Boston had most connection with Nantucket, however, for a granddaughter of Mary Starbuck, Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham set up housekeeping there upon her marriage in 1703. She immediately affiliated with Friends in Boston. Her uncle Captain Nathaniel Gardner, son of Quakeress Sarah, was the chief merchant-link between Nantucket and Boston, making the trip around Cape Cod several times each year. His Boston agent was none other than Josiah Franklin, Peter Folger's son-in-law, and father of the young Benjamin Franklin. 1704 witnessed the birth of Boston's first newspaper the New England Newsletter. Captain Gardner probably saw to it that copies reached the far-away island.

By 1670 Salem Monthly Meeting had set up a colony of Quakers in Dover, New Hampshire, that colony being a dependency of Massachusetts. By 1673 Dover Monthly Meeting began to attract the Starbuck cousins in that region to the Quaker way of life. A second Monthly Meeting set off by Salem was called Hampton, and included the border country between the two provinces. It came into being in 1701, four years before Salem Quarterly Meeting included the three North Shore Meetings in its fellowship. No Quaker of this region visited Nantucket before 1708, when Mary Starbuck's sister-in-law, Sarah

Austin, attended the opening of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. There were perhaps 300 New Hampshire Quakers in a population of 5000 colonists. Most were puritans, but there were some Anglicans and Baptists as in Massachusetts. The Abanaki War made life difficult this far North, and had practically depopulated the Boston governed district of Maine.

Except for Rhode Island, the Quaker movement in New England was indeed comparatively small and insignificant. There was one Monthly Meeting in New Hampshire and there were but four in Massachusetts at least until Nantucket came into being. Only in Sandwich and Dartmouth Townships were the Quaker groups in a somewhat respected position. The Nantucket development then was definitely in line with Rhode Island Quakerism rather than with that of Massachusetts. Perhaps this is only natural, as the previous history of the island had been oriented toward New York, rather than towards Boston.

Some remarks concerning Rhode Island Quakerism are now in order. Stemming from the Seeker Movement, Rhode Island Monthly Meeting came into being practically full-blown in 1658. Until 1672 oversight was extended to the Long Island Meetings. In that year Flushing Monthly Meeting was called into being by George Fox. A second monthly meeting called Westbury was set off in 1681, when the Long Island Quarterly Meeting was born. Then in 1695 Long Island received its Quaker independence as New York Yearly Meeting. Considering the very close tie with Newport, it is very understandable that Hugh Copperthwaite, a Flushing member, was the first American Friend entertained by Mary Starbuck. In 1706 another Long Island Quaker, Esther Palmer, also of Flushing, accompanied Mary Lawson to the island. Daughter of Joseph Palmer, a weighty Friend, she would travel to England and marry abroad in 1711 and die three years later far from home. Perhaps it seems strange to include Long Island in the Newport Quaker orbit, but the fact of such influence only underscores the outreaching quality of Quakerism from that most

flourishing of New England ports.

Newport was free of Massachusetts bigotry. Even a Jewish Community had been successfully established in its Baptist-Quaker atmosphere. At first Rhode Island had been a Baptist dominated but by 1675 had definitely passed under the influence of the Society of Friends..Aid of a military nature had been refused Massachusetts during King Philips War, and Rhode Island had escaped mearly unhurt during the Indian terrorism of that day. Governor Walter Clarke who had taken the courageous pacifist stand was to be found on Nantucket in 1701. He is also remembered for winning the first court case against the newly formed British Board of Trade, which sought to force Rhode Island to demand an oath when enforcing the Acts of Trade and Navigation. This was in 1696. They little understood the honesty of Quaker affirmation in place of legal oaths.

Two other Rhode Island Quaker governors were to be found on Nantucket in the decade under scrutiny. They were Governor John Clarke, and Governor John Easton. John Clarke had preceded his kinsman Walter Clarke in the governor's chair. During the period of the "glorious revolution" he had saved the Rhode Island Charter from confiscation, when it might well have been taken. Both Clarkes visited in 1701. Governor John Easton, a contemporary and fellow-laborer with Roger Williams in the founding of Rhode Island, came three years before in 1698, when he was companion to Thomas Chalkley. He had accompanied Margaret Brewster the young fanatic woman Friend in his youth to the South Church in Boston where she scandalized the congregation by wearing sack-cloth and ashes as a "sign". One could scarcely imagine John Easton in such a role in 1698, so steadied had become the emotional currents in the Society of Friends a generation after his youthful adventure. John Easton's father had given the land for the Yearly Meetinghouse in Newport.

After Philadelphia, Newport was the outstanding Quaker center in America in 1700. There were 1,600 members of the Society of Friends in Rhode Island,

half of whom lived either in Newport or within easy commuting distance. Their influence upon the 10,000 inhabitants of the colony was disproportionately great considering their numbers. Five local meetings composed Rhode Island Monthly Meeting, the home meeting at Newport, the equally old meeting at Portsmouth up the island, the newer meeting called Conanicut on the island directly westward, Tiverton meeting eastward on the mainland, and Swansea northward. The Yearly Meetinghouse in Newport itself, which incidentally is still standing, was erected for George Fox's visit in 1672. It was completely rebuilt in 1699 45' square with a hip-roof and a tower or "lanthorn" which lasted dispite protest till about 1755. The double-galleried meetinghouse was first occupied by Yearly Meeting in 1700 when the bill for construction was set at $13,105.00. 1699 also marked the construction of the hip-roof meetinghouse in Portsmouth, which was enlarged to its present size in 1705. Both Newport and Portsmouth houses were used for sessions of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting which first began sessions in 1699. That date, interestingly enough, we will recall marked the building of the Parliament House on Nantucket. As a matter of fact very probably Peleg Slocumb's brother Ebenezer Slocumb, chief ministering Friend of Conanicut Island, helped put up the framing of the Parliament House as he was on Nantucket in 1699, coveting for that island the 100% Quaker population which was to be found on Conanicut. Tall, "strong and nimble of body" physically. Ebenezer was accounted "a great Bishop of souls and Shepherd of the Sheep". Having been converted to Quakerism under the preaching of George Fox, himself, he was well equipped to return as Patrick Henderson's companion when that Irish Friend carried the Nantucket request to Newport for a monthly meeting in 1708.

Ebenezer Slocumb had been attracted to Nantucket originally by his sister Joanna (Slocumb) Mott of Portsmouth who had been with Thomas Chalkley on his 1698 visit. She was probably the first woman to preach on Nantucket. It was not unusual for married or even unmarried women Friends to travel about in the interests of the prophetic ministry. Joanna Mott interested her husband, Jacob Mott, in

the far-away island with the result that they become the family primarily concerned for the settling of a Quaker meeting on Nantucket. In their concern they were ably assisted by her brother, Peleg Slocumb, and his wife, Mary (Holder) Slocumb, as before observed. Both Jacob and Joanna Mott were on the island in 1707, when they brought a selection of Quaker books to bachelor Barnabas Starbuck at a cost to him of $50.00. Jacob Mott sat along side John Richardson in the Pentecostal Meeting in 1702, and returned as chairman of the committee to set up the monthly meeting on Nantucket in 1708. Altogether he made five visits in the decade under consideration. Jacob and Joanna's son Jacob Mott, Jr. began his public career as a Friend's minister in 1701 on Nantucket, when he first preached there. The son kept alive the concern of his parents, and as a consequence we will encounter him sixty years later as an old man, still bestirring himself in the interests of the island. The son was on the island at least twice between 1698 and 1708.

Tiverton Meeting was represented on Nantucket by Joseph Wanton the ship-builder, who had located there to escape the puritan interferances with his father's Quaker ship-yards in Scituate. He went to Nantucket in 1706 at least in part to discover how to evade the Board of Trade restriction that all tar, pitch, hemp, turpentine and mast-yards be sent directly to England and not across provincial boundaries. He was interested in becoming the outfitter of the developing Nantucket coast wise trade. As far as we have record Nantucket then owned three such sloops, the Society of fifteen tons built at Salem in 1695, the Dolphin of twenty-five tons, constructed at Boston in 1697, and the Mary of equal tonnage from the same port a year later. The first vessel from the Wanton yards at Tiverton did not arrive at Nantucket till 1713, at least as far as the very sketchy records show. The Tiverton yards had then been in operation nearly a decade.

Joseph Wanton had married a sister of Susannah Freeborn, the young woman Friend who had argued with John Gardner in Thomas Story's presence. Another link with the home meeting in Newport itself, was Joseph's brother John Wanton, a worldly Friend who lived in what is now the oldest house in Newport, and was destined soon to become Rhode Island's governor. We will hear more of John. Joseph, on his 1706 visit, brought along his old friend Ephriam Hicks, who was also a native of Scituate. Ephriam had settled as a merchant-minister in Newport, from which base he was to be found on Nantucket in subsequent years.

Though Ephriam was eventually to become much concerned for Nantucket Quakerism, during the first decade Susannah Freeborn carried the greatest responsibility, after the Jacob Motts and the Peleg Slocumbs. Not only did Susannah visit four times herself, but she brough down two other spinsters, and her two brothers-in-law. One of these spinsters was Ruth Fry, who came in 1701 and died in 1733 aged about 60. The other was Hope Borden daughter of Matthew Borden, one of Newport's merchant princes and first native born Rhode Islander of European extraction. We have already noted brother-in-law Joseph Wanton. Next we account for brother-in-law William Anthony, also a merchant, and once of Yorkshire. These finish off the Newport complement of visitors, in summary as follows: Governor Walter Clarke, Governor John Clarke, Governor John Easton, Susannah Freeborn, Ruth Fry, Hope Borden and William Anthony. Five other Rhode Island Monthly Meeting members should also be listed from outlying points: Ebenezer Slocumb, Joanna (Slocumb) Mott, Jacob Mott, Sr., Jacob Mott, Jr. and Joseph Wanton; altogether a dozen, to equal the dozen of overseas Friends who had labored with them on Nantucket.

Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting which we noticed came into being in 1699 included three monthly meetings, Dartmouth in Massachusetts, Rhode Island itself, and Greenwich on the western shore of Narragansett Bay. Greenwich Monthly Meeting also dating from 1699 contributed only one Nantucket visitor

before 1708. He was Thomas Steere of Providence, first of that well known Quaker family. He had accompanied in 1700 a young Irish Friend, John Estaugh, to Nantucket. Estaugh subsequently met Elizabeth Haddon of Haddonfield, New Jersey where the most famous of colonial Quaker romances blossomed. Estaugh consequently settled in New Jersey where he was one of Thomas Chalkley's best customers. Neither Steere nor Estaugh returned to Nantucket again, though Steere was on committees many years later dealing with Nantucket Quaker problems.

There were several local Quaker meetings south of Providence under the care of Greenwich Monthly Meeting and even some farther north extending over the Massachusetts line, but they lay so far away from the Nantucket, as makes it seem wise to overlook them, now, at least. Beyond Greenwich lay Connecticut, hostile to Quakerism, even more so than Massachusetts. Legislation calling for brutal suppression of heresy was disallowed by the Board of Trade in 1705, which in turn elicited grateful thanks from New England Yearly Meeting in 1707. Scarce a handful of Quakers lived in the Province of 30,000 Connecticut people, although some 300 Rogerine Quaker Baptists maintained a community in Mystic. In 1706, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting distributing George Bishop's <u>New England Judged in the Spirit of the Lord</u> widely in puritan Connecticut to counteract the spirit of persecution. Bishop's book, it may be recalled was cited by Peter Folger in his anti-persecution "Looking-glass" of 1676. West of Connecticut lay New York Yearly Meeting, composed as we have suggested of Flushing and Westbury Monthly Meetings and Westbury Quarterly Meeting, a small nucleus indeed. There were some 600 regular Quaker members out of a total population of 30,000 mixed Dutch and English colonist in that government, which had had control of Nantucket in the not too distant past. East of the Hudson River then there were only ten monthly meetings before Nantucket came into existence, and as

a matter of fact west of the Hudson in 1708 there were only a total of thirty-four additional monthly meetings. From these thirty-four meetings came only seven visitors to Nantucket in the 1698-1708 decade. Quaker membership in the colonies stood about 13,000 members, interestingly enough only second to that of the Congregationalists. Next after Friends came the Anglicans. In the year 1700 there were 262,000 British colonials in America. Of these one quarter or 65,500 were church members. Considering these figures the Society of Friends comprised a fifth of the religious people in America, a startlingly high proportion, considering the generally accepted views concerning the insignificance of the Society of Friends. But in 1700 not only was Rhode Island Quaker controlled but so were New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and North Carolina. No other religious body, not even the Anglican Church controlled an equal number of colonies. Consequently for Nantucket to accept the Quaker discipline, though a peculiar divergence from the New England puritan norm, was in line with one of the more dynamic religious approaches current in the colonial scene.

No one could have forseen, however, in 1700 that the lusty strength of the 17th Century which had given birth to the Society of Friends was soon to be replaced by the empty refinement of Queen Anne's era and the logical approach of Age of the Enlightenment. The forces that brought Quakerism into being as a type of group prophetic mysticism were channeled elsewhere. The Society of Friends consequently was increasingly energetic in keeping its dynamic separate from the forces in the world about it. And in its effort to preserve itself, Quakerism cut itself off from becoming the central vehicle for carrying forward the religious spirit of the American people. In 1700 Friends little guessed the Renaissance had conquered the English religious outlook as well as the English sense of good taste.

Nantucket as a community was still a backward social eddy, a study in 17th Century values in contrast to the onward sweep of British cultural

development. As George Fox was perhaps the last English medievalist, so Nantucket was the last pietist flowering in New England. The Great Awakening of Jonathan Edwards and others which next followed was a distinctly new and frontier development. Taken in this wider setting the coming of the Quaker movement to Nantucket island is a decidedly significant step in the development of religious life in America.

If we look for one Nantucketer who fully epitomized the spirit of the early Quaker meeting on the island, she was Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, seventh and favored child of the great Mary Starbuck, in her own right seventh and favored child of Tristram Coffin. Priscilla Coleman was to become the first Quaker anti-slavery advocate in New England, second clerk of the Women's Meeting on Nantucket, and she was to raise two sons in the Quaker ministry, one of them Elihu Coleman remembered as one of the outstanding Nantucket Friends of the 18th Century. Priscilla's life covered the years of this study. Her memorial reached New England Yearly Meeting in 1763 and with her death the last dominant influence of the old 17th Century Nantucket disappeared.

CHAPTER II

PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH
1698-1708

The planting of the Quaker message on the island of Nantucket elicited the endeavors of the outstanding leaders of the Society of Friends in England as well as in America. So many ministers of the faith of the inward life participated, that it proves necessary to discriminate among them, and to discuss in our opening chapter devoted to Quakerism specifically, only those luminaries who distinctly highlighted the decade between 1698 and 1708. In Quaker parlance, a minister is a publisher of Truth. Like the prophets of the old testiment they speak out for God as his mouthpiece. Like the apostles of the new testament, they testify to the truth of a continuing pentecost. It is in this sense that we speak of those devoted unsalaried souls who carried the Quaker message the length of colonial America as Publishers of Truth.

As has been stated earlier, Captain John Gardner effectively stopped any Quaker from reaching Nantucket in the years of his leadership of the Nantucket community from 1673 to 1696. Two years later, however, Mary Starbuck was able to by-pass the prejudice of the old revolutionist, and consequently entertained two groups of visiting Friends. Probably family connections had most to do with their arrival. For one thing her sister-in-law, Sarah (Starbuck) Austin of Dover, New Hampshire, had already joined the Society of Friends, and had appeared in public testimony as a Quaker minister. Though Sarah Austin probably did not visit Nantucket in the years of uncertainty, one of her daughters had married onto the far-away island. Of even more decisive character was the marriage of Mary Starbuck's youngest daughter Hephzibah to Thomas Hathaway of Acushnet in Dartmouth Township in 1696. They lived on a farm surrounded by Quaker neighbors: the Howlands, Slocumbs, Smiths, Tuckers among others. And as Dartmouth had no Puritan Church or establishment, it is probable that Thomas and Hephzibah Hathaway made their way to Friends Meeting occasionally of a First-day. At any rate they were aware of Mary Starbuck's

desires for visiting ministers, and it was Thomas Hathaway who brought the two groups of visitors in the summer of 1698 in his sloop, so often used in subsequent years to transport mainland stores to outfit whaling interprizes.

Parenthetically, it may be observed that Newport rather than Boston was the center of the South Shore New England maritime trades, cut off as it was from the North Shore so effectively by the treacherous shoals of Cape Cod. Small coastal sloops carried Newport goods to Long Island, along the Connecticut shore, up Narragansett and Buzzards Bays, and eastward out to Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. Even as early as 1698 when all English-North American trade did not equal a seventh of that between England and the British West Indies, Newport had established herself in what was to be known as the rum-slave-molasses business. The profits of the horrible "middle-passage" allowed consequently for the surplus goods were transported to Nantucket from Newport by such traders as Captain Thomas Hathaway of Acushnet. Not only did Thomas Hathaway serve as a carrier of the principles of brotherhood as understood by the Society of Friends, but he also was middleman for the fruits of injustice. Both products when exported to Nantucket vied with each other for first place in the allegiance of the islanders. And for two centuries after 1698 the struggle was not abated.

But to get on with the story--one fine summer day, Captain Hathaway put in at Capaum harbor with two passengers, who by their garb and speech were obviously members of the Society of Friends. Neither of them was Thomas Chalkley, the well known Philadelphia export-import merchant, who traditionally is supposed to have been the first Quaker entertained by Mary Starbuck. Unfortunately we know relatively little of the original two, who incidentally later met Chalkley at Newport and persuaded him to go to Nantucket that same summer. Both Thomas Turner and Hugh Copperthwaite, his companion, had known George Fox the founder of the Society of Friends personally. Turner was an

English Friend from County Essex, just commencing a seven-year tour of the American colonies. Copperthwaite hailed from Flushing, Long Island, where the meetinghouse in which he worshipped, is, incidentally, still standing. Turner is reputed to have frequently preached that in due season "Truth's enemies would be scattered." Such a sermon if given on Nantucket was a prophecy John Gardner would not relish. Evidently the visit made little impression upon Turner as he made no reference to Nantucket in his full report to London yearly meeting in 1705 regarding his travels in America. And he never returned to Nantucket. Copperthwaite's interest was of a more lasting quality as he returned in 1705. Evidently a well-to-do Friend he left an endowment for the Flushing Meeting, and an extensive library of Quakeriana upon his death in 1730. Very probably the islanders regarded the first two visitors as peculiar, especially as they sat with their hats on in silence, until they were moved to speak. Their most important contribution was to encourage Thomas Chalkley and the Friends of Newport to follow up the initial contact. A case could be made that the Square in Nantucket town named for an obscure Revolutionary War hero by the name of Thomas Turner, were better named for the Quaker missionary from County Essex.

Two months later Thomas Chalkley and his two companions arrived on the island. At this point Thomas was en route to settling in America, having imigrated from County Surry. A young man of tremendous vigor, he probably possessed insight into particular conditions and needs of individuals Nantucketers, and consequently spoke with almost transparent clarity. He evidently made a favorable impression, especially upon Mary Starbuck, among the many "tender-hearted" people who attended his meetings. His spiritual diary or journal, though like most, provokingly silent on sociological conditions, reveals a depth of religious fervor, unmistakably genuine.

> On first day we had the largest meeting we had on the island. It was thought there was above two hundred people. The Lord in his power did make his Truth known to the people. O! how was my soul concerned for that people. The Lord Jesus did open my heart to them, and theirs to him.....

At least two-thirds of the white community attended this First-day meeting, among whom was the resident Baptist minister, who was so impressed, as to ask Chalkley to hold a meeting in his home which was done, apparently to the satisfaction of all concerned. Chalkley stayed five days altogether and then departed, leaving Mary Starbuck definitely interested in the Quaker approach to life. None too close reading of Chalkley's Journal might indicate that she was convinced of Friends' principles under the young man's preaching, but his account bears all the earmarks of having been edited later with hindsight. When Thomas Chalkley returned in 1704, a whole revolution had been effected. And he was to return once again years later. Meanwhile he became the foremost ambassador of the Quaker message in the Quaker World of the early 18th Century.

Three years passed in which time Chalkley's two companions, who were members of the Friends Meeting in Newport, saw to it that a steady stream of American Friends arrived on Nantucket to keep alive the interest generated by the 1698 visitors. The account of their faithful stewardship will be given in a later chapter. In 1701, Nantucket was host to another English Friend, Thomas Thompson, Jr. of Yorkshire, who as a veteran of the Quaker faith had suffered property distraints and imprisonment for his beliefs. His report to London Yearly Meeting in 1703 gives evidence that Quakerism had not yet taken root on the island two years before.

> I was also at an Island called Nantucket which lyeth 20 leagues from ye mainland. There is a professing people on it a people high in notion among whom I had good services and several of them confessed to Ye Truth.

The question may properly be asked; To what Truth did the several confess? Surely they did not accept the Quaker way of life, as is abundantly clear in

in the Journal accounts of 1702. Probably they assented to the Truth of what Thompson had to say in meeting. Like Turner, a relatively obscure figure, Thomas Thompson, Jr. never returned to Nantucket. His importance lies in the negative light his account throws upon the island situation in 1701.

The Journalist of 1702 was like Chalkley a younger man, a widower from Yorkshire, whose account is as full as most are empty. A man of unique perception, reaching eloquence, and a humble spirit, he reported likewise to the London Yearly meeting of 1703 that he found, "at Nantucket near Boston great openness and Truth prevalent and the people much in kindliness". The night before he landed on the island a series of untoward circumstances produced the kind of fatigue which is a razor's edge away from genius. They were caught in a dead foggy calm. An isolated sandbar, probably one of the Gravelly Islands, was mistaken for Sherbourne. John Richardson and others put off in a rowboat only to spend the night halooing to the sloop, which the fog hid till morning. They arrived after day-break utterly weary. And he wrote----

> We landed safe and as we went up the Ascent, we saw a great many People looking towards the Sea, for great Fear had possess'd them, that our Sloop was a French Sloop loaded with men and Arms, who were come to invade the Island: I held out my Arms and told them, I knew not of any worse Arms that these on board. They said, they were glad it was no worse, for they had intended to have alarmed the Island, it being a time of War [broken out in 1701]: I told the good like People, for so they appeared to me, that Peleg Slocumb, near Rhode Island, was master of the Sloop, and that we came to visit them in the Love of God, if they would be willing to let us have some Meetings amongst them. They behaved themselves very courteously towards us, and said they thought we might.
>
> We then inquired for Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., who we understood was in some degree convinced of the Truth, and having directions to his House, we went thither, and as I told him, We made bold to come to his House, and if he was free to receive us, we sould stay a little with him, but is not we would go elsewhere; for we heard he was a seeking religious Man, and such chiefly we were come to visit. He said, we were very welcome. And by this Time came in his mother Mary Starbuck, who the Islanders esteemed as a Judge among them, for little of moment was done there without her, as I understood.
>
> At the first sight of her it sprang in my Heart. To this Woman is the everlasting Love of God.

John Richardson's approach was one of homely intimacy. The emotional peak of his account carries some of the mystical insight which helped unite the power of interior religion to Nantucket's native integrity. How truly wonderful to be able to discern potentiality of character as John Richardson saw it in Mary Starbuck! He then inquired of her as to a suitable time for a meeting for worship.

> She paused a while, and then said. I think at our House. I from thence gathered she had an Husband, for I Thought the Word our, carried in it some Power besides her own, and I presently found he was with us. I then made my observation on him, and he appeared a Man not of mean Parts, but she so far exceeded him in Soundness of Judgement, Clearness of Understanding, and an elegant way of expressing herself, and that not in an affected strain, but very natural to her, that it tanded to lessen the Qualifications of her Husband.
>
> The meeting being agreed on, and Care taken as to the Appointment of it, we parted, and I lay down to try if I could get any Sleep . . . but Sleep vanished away from me, and I got up and walked to and fro in the Woods until the Meeting was mostly gathered. I was under a very great Load in my Spirit, but the Occasion of it was hid from me, but I saw it my place to go to Meeting, the Order of which was such, in all parts thereof I had not seen the like before; the large and bright rubbed Room was set with suitable Seats or Chairs, The Glass Windows taken out of the Frames, and many chairs placed without very conveniently, so that I did not see anything wanting, according to the Place, but something to stand on, for I was not free to set my Feet upon the fine cane chair, lest I should break it.
>
> I am the more particular in this exact and exemplary Order than in some other Things, for the Seats both within and without Doors were so placed that the Faces of the People were towards the Seats where the publick Friends sat, and when so set, they did not look or gaze in our Faces, as some I think are apt to do, which in my thoughts bespeaks an unconcerned Mind. The Meeting being thus gathered and set down in the orderly and simple manner (although there were but few bearing our name in it) it was not long before the mighty Power of the Lord began to work, andin it my companion [James Bates] especially did appear in Testimony in the fore part thereof . . . .
>
> I set a considerable time in the meeting before I could see my Way clear to say any thing, until the Lord's heavenly Power raised me, and set me upon my Feet as if one had lifted me up, and what I had first in commision to speak, was in the Words of Christ to Nicodemus, viz. Except a man be born again

> he cannot see the Kingdom of God. . . Nay the natural and unregenerate Man cannot so much as see the heavenly and spiritual Kingdom of Christ, which stands not only in Power, but also in Righteousness, Joy and Peace . . . and to pretend to be new creatures, and yet not able to under any account how it was performed [is] unreasonable . . . Those who are crucified with Christ, they are crucified to their Sins, and as he died for sin, we [may] die to sin. In this State we live not after the Flesh although . . . in the Flesh . . . And we have all this and much more wrought in us, and we know nothing of it, is unaccountable.
>
> And as I was thus opened and delivering these Things, and with much more than I can remember, the great Woman, I felt, for most of an Hour together, sought and strove against the Testimony, sometimes looking up in my face with a pale, and then with a more ruddy complexion: but the strength of Truth increased and the Lord's mighty Power began to shake the People within and without Doors; but she who was a Deborah to these People, was loathe to lose the outside of Religion, or the apperance, thereof: When she could no longer contain, she submitted to the Power of Truth, and the Doctrines thereof, and lifted up her voice and wept: Oh! then the universal cry and Brokenness of Heart and Tears was wonderful! From this Time I do not remember one Word that I spoke in Testimony, it was enough that I could keep on the true Botton and not be carried away with the Stream above my Measure.

John Richarson continued his account of being "swallowed up in the internal Presence of Christ." Then his natural weariness overcame him, and he tried to "break meeting" three times before they were willing to disperse.

> But after some Time Mary Starbuck stood up, and held out her Hand, and spoke tremblingly and said. All that even we have been building, and all that we have done, is all pull'd down this Day, and this is the everlasting Truth... Then she arose, and I observed that she, as many as could well be seen, were wet with Tears from their Faces to the fore skirts of their Garments, and the Floor was as though there had been a Shower of Rain upon it. . . ."

Then the meeting separated, and she got some mild warm liquor for John Richardson.

> And I went unto her Son's, where my Cloathes were, that I might shift me, for I felt Sweat in my Shoes as I walked.
>
> I remember Peleg Slocumb . . . said after this meeting, that the like he was never at; for he thought the inhabitants were shaken, and most of the People convinced of the Truth . . .

The foregoing account is unique as far as I know. There is a pentecostal power, verging upon emotional instability which sweeps through the whole episode. It was obviously penned soon after the experience, while the moving power of it filled the spirit of the young minister. For the first time we come face to face with Tristram Coffin's favorite daughter, and she emerges a greater woman in our eyes, because she demonstrated a flexibility of personality relatively unknown in older persons. In her 58th year, Nathaniel Starbuck's gifted wife embraced the Quaker way of life. She cast her lot with the Society of Friends because she had experienced the motive power which would give rise to the social cohesion she so much desired for Nantucket. Her's was the creative response which settled Nantucket on a course of tremendous consequences.

Richardson's account is also valuable for the negative light thrown upon the founder of Nantucket's whaling industry, who appears as a quiet personality a man who waited seven years before joining his wife in her religious affirmation, and we have reference to their heir, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., who was destined to plan the chief role in the early Friends Meeting on Nantucket. He was a unique [illegible] blend of his father's business ability and his mother's religious sensitivity. As far as we know, he became a Friend at the Richardson meeting along with his mother, and one sister, Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, wife of a grandson of the sheep raising pioneer. As for Priscilla we should note briefly that she inherited her mother's intense religious spirit, but not the domineering personality of the great Mary Starbuck.

It was perhaps only natural that Mary Starbuck and her close religious associates should progress from antimonian electarian Baptist beliefs to those of Society of Friends, for a she told Richardson, "their Principle was that such as believed in Christ, were always in Him, and whom He once loved. He loved to the End". She now enlarged her concept of "Election"

to include all men in all states of religious development who responded to the power of Christ inwardly. Perhaps it was as well that young Richardson appeared at this particular juncture to lecture upon the broad Quaker concept of "Election", as there was present on the island a Calvinist divine who later engaged him in a debate over the meaning of the term. Apparently the calvinist dominie laid stress upon intellectual awareness of what is right and wrong as the essential verification in knowing oneself the be of the elect. John Richardson then adroitly inquired how the knowing devil could be evil under such circumstances. Such quick-wittedness drew down upon Friends the cold fury of those who were either unwilling or unable to admit logical inconsistency, which partially explains Quaker unpopularity.

If we think of Thomas Chalkley as the instrument for giving authenticity to the Quaker message on Nantucket, we must grant that John Richardson was the instrument by which that message found acceptance on the island. It yet remained for a third alert missionary, Thomas Story, to point out the vital community relationship which was now implicit. Meanwhile Richardson left ". . . these fine People...with fervent Supplications and Prayers to the Lord... that he would prosper his blessed Work of Conversion which he had begun amongst them . . ." Thirty years later the one-time young widower returned to mingle in the huge company who had accepted Mary Starbuck's affirmation.

Before proceeding with the events leading to the fascinating Journal accounts of Thomas Story, notice should be taken of the house in which was located the "bright Rubb'd room". Apparently the structure was erected in the summer of 1699 as a semi-public dwelling for the great Nathaniel and Mary Starbuck. Their older place now known as the Tobey House, where Richardson lodged, had become the property of their heir, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. The transfer of title indicated that Mary Starbuck had assigned her Indian bureau and store to her eldest son. For a decade at least, he had been her associate with particular

responsibility for equipping the budding whaling industry. In time her trading post was to evolve into an oil monopoly without equal in the 18th Century world. Mary Starbuck's withdrawal from business indicates she was devoting more time to civic affairs. Her 1699 dwelling popularly known as the "Parliament House" contained the semi-public "bright rubb'd room", 19'x 20', which can still be identified in the remodeled Austin House, where it stands today at the corner of School and Pine Streets in Nantucket. Gradually the function of civil government on Nantucket were expanding. When William Gayer, Nathaniel Starbuck's brother-in-law became Town and Proprietary Clerk in 1696, he instituted separate records symbolic of the more tolerant regime which he represented. In 1701, Eleazer Folger was replaced by Mary Starbuck's brother, James Coffin, as representative in the Massachusetts General Court, and in that year separate judicial records were set up. In another few years the Proprietary would come to meet separately from the town itself. All of these legal bodies gathered in the Parliament House as the temporary town house constructed near No Bottom pond in 1675 had fallen into ruin. In 1705, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., was to succeed his uncle William Gayer as Town and Proprietary Clerk. What more appropriate place for the first citizen to hold his legal assemblies than in the spacious living-room of his mother's dwellinghouse?

As the center of political power converged upon the person and household of Mary Starbuck, she was host to still another English Quaker by the name of Samuel Bowmas. Bowmas had been born a Friend, and had pursued a conventional Quaker life until shaken into religious experience by a clairvoyant woman Friend who addressed him personally in meeting one day much as follows, "Thou traditional Friend, thou leavest as thou comest, and what will the end be?" Bowmas was an able observer, and understood instinctively the need of inward discipline which Mary Starbuck was seeking to apply. He went directly to

William Gayer where he was received courteously and in his journal account expressed satisfaction in his audience with the "governor".

> ....in Nantucket [Bownas wrote for 1703] I had great satisfaction for the People not joined with Friends were moderate Baptists, and came generally to meetings, their Preacher also with them, who after meeting raised some objections against us, that he had from our Adversaries Books...I told him we look'd upon it to be our duty to pray to God in Christ's name... He said it was Gospel Truth in its primitive Purity.

The mild anti-Quaker sentiment suggests that possibly Roger Williams' book entitled George Fox digg'd out of his Burroughs, a memorial of the George Fox-Roger Williams public degates in Rhode Island in 1672 may have been read on Nantucket. Other anti-Quaker literature then current included the works of a certain Francis Bugg, the apostate Quaker, and the so-called Snake-in-the-Grass series. At any rate, the body of critical opinion was destined to enlarge. Samuel Bownas incorporated substantially his whole journal account in his report to London yearly meeting in 1705. Then twenty-two years later, he returned to the island to help with a major development in the Quaker community. Bownas' signifigance as a reporter of a anti-Quaker attitude is underscored by Chalkley's observations in 1704 at the time of his second visit. Apparently the Philadelphia Quaker found some "cruel in their expressions" toward Friends, Chalkley held several special meetings in different homes, noting most of the attenders "were not yet of our Society." Chalkley's companion in 1704 was the first Irish Friend on the island, a certain John Butler of whom we know nothing except he left a good number of Quaker descendants by that name.

Later in the summer of 1704, we meet with the visit of young Thomas Story, native of County Cumberland, but resident for six years in Philadelphia as personal deputy for William Penn in his Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania. At the moment the most prominent Friend in America, he had begun to suffer from

the handicap which was to afflict him all his life. The Society of Friends had already grown so provincial as to suspect Story's sophisticated Anglican background. He had to be careful not to show his superior education, and to force himself to act especially friendly to casual acquaintances. That his associates had included Dukes and Archbishops, and even Czar Peter the Great of Russia, stood him in no good stead. And his marriage to the daughter of Philadelphia's mayor did not save him from accusations of homosexuality years later, when the resultant scandal cost him the post of Clerk of London Yearly Meeting. The years of his misfortunes lay far ahead, however. In 1704, when he came to Nantucket to establish the Society of Friends on the island, he was at his peak of popularity.

Story's very informative spiritual diary records that upon his party's landing at Capaum harbor, they went to dinner at Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner's. There they learned that a special criminal court was sitting at the Parliament House to try an Indian named Sabo Finch, for murdering his wife when in a drunken fury. Consequently Story decided against holding any special religious meeting that day, but rather took courage by the forelock, and departed with a companion to the residence of Captain John Gardner to see if they could persuade that crusty old fighter to pardon the Indian. Story's plea fell on deaf ears. Captain Gardner had no intention of being swayed by dangerous heretics. And the Indians needed a public lesson. Murder was a serious business. This murder was the first known to have been committed on the island. He could not have been expected to have understood that Margaret Finch's death was only a tragic indictment of the superior white Christian culture, which by its very nature unconsciously and ruthlessly crushed the values of the aboriginal way of life, and thus was responsible for the individual running amok. And John Gardner it will be recalled, had favored the sale of liquor to the natives.

As it was, Gardner welcomed the opportunity to attack with some ferocity the religious views of George Fox and the early friends, quoting specifically some unscriptural remarks he had once heard said by a "Friend" in the 1660's. Story's companion, an alert young Quakeress of Newport by the name of Susannah Freeborn, quickly identified the so-called Friend, as a ranter, possibly one of the Perrot-Stokes school of thinking. Anyway he was no proper member of the Society. Soon by careful questioning, Thomas Story proved beyond a doubt that John Gardner was only parroting attacks as he could uphold no systematic concept of God or of Man. We can only be sorry for the old man backed up against the hard wall of logic as he was confronted by a young keen minded theologian. As anger took the place of discussion, John's wife Priscilla burst upon them in tears, as such lack of courtesy had been initiated in her house. Possibly she was concerned also for her husband's heart condition, as he died but two years later.

Apparently Finch was hanged, and Story continued in his propensity to get into stormy argument. The second recorded dase was with Stephen Hussey's puritan wife, Martha (Bunker) Hussey (whom he had married after settling on the island.) The thorny subject was predestination, which elicited the accurate but uncharitable discription of Martha in Story's journal as "a very rigid and ignorant Presbyterian". After a display of tears and temper, she, however, turned "Gentle" and "loving". Story and company held meetings for worship at the Hussey house at Monomoy at the foot of the Harbor, and at John Swain's place at Poplis, up the harbor. Indians in large numbers, attracted by Story's humanitarianism, attended both gatherings, that at Husseys being described as "a large Good meeting...." Apparently many Indians felt instinctively at home in silent worship, though the social structure of Nantucket society kept them from becoming members of the Society of Friends. After 1698, the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, a puritan missionary organization in Boston, sent regular preachers to the Indians on Nantucket. In that year that Society erected the first puritan Indian meetinghouse on the island. Yet not over 10% of Nantucket's 500 Indians were ever enrolled as Christians in this missionary effort, nor in the original church started in the Baptist tradition by Peter Folger. Christianity apparently remained a minority interest among a group whose appreciation of Nantucket's marvelous beaches bred in them a healthy indiginous paganism. It was apparently one of these calvinist Indian missionaries whom John Richardson had engaged in theological dispute in 1702. Or possible he was, as Story says in his journal, one of the groups of:

> ..poor Hirelings [who] search all comers for settled maintenance, several such from time to time, had made their attempt upon this People (on Nantucket) on that account, but were disappointed; for there was in this Island one Nathaniel Starbuck, whose wife was . . . so that when at any Time such Hirelings come to preach among them, and attempted to have a settled maintenance she always opposed it with solid arguments, as being contrary to the Apostles and Primitives...

She did not, however, object to offering hospitality to visiting ministers.

It happened that Story met two such puritan divines at John Swain's place, one of whom tried to involve Story in a test of physical endurance which appears to have been a peculiar throw-back to the medieval concept of the ordeal, or perhaps only a mischievous bent toward testing Story's sporting qualities. At any rate, Thomas didn't cooperate.

Though women Friends had previously visited Nantucket and preached in meeting, if we can trust Story's account, it was through the instrumentality of Susannah Freeborn and her companion that "all objections were removed at once against Women's preaching . . ." Regarding Mary Starbuck, who had very probably appeared in public ministry already, he recorded that she was:

> A wise discreet woman well read in the Scripture and not attached to any Sect, but in great reputation in matters of religion, and an oracle among them on that account, insomuch as they would not do anything without her advice and consent therein.

What Story means by Mary's lack of religious attachment, was that she did not participate in the regular worship or discipline of any religious body, though she no doubt regarded her views as basically Quaker when he was on the island. The visitors held a series of religious gatherings on the island, and then got ready to depart. The night previous Thomas wrote in his journal:

> ...My sleep was taken away from me, under a concern of mind for the settlement of a meeting there: and though there were two men under the Profession of Truth among them [Stephen Hussey and John Swain], they had not been faithful, nor of good report, but a stumbling-block in the way of the weak, for they could not agree among themselves, and one of them [the former] was at odds with many of his neighbors, so that they were set aside, and the chief instrument... was Mary Starbuck...to whom I made it known...and laid a charge upon her to have a meeting established in their family, once a week at least, and to wait upon the Lord with all who were convinced of the Truth in the neighborhood, and in the Island, as they had conveniency...This she received with Christian Gravity...and it became her concern...I preposed it likewise to her children, who were all discreet young men and women...and being convinced of Truth. They were ready to embrace the proposal...

Story's comments on Hussey and Swain are pertinent. Their Quakerism was naturally inhibited by respective puritan wives, and in Hussey's case, we have already observed an opportunism not in keeping with his religious profession. That opportunism was to prove his undoing before another decade was up. As for Mary Starbuck's children who joined her in her intention to hold religious meetings, we naturally encounter Nathaniel Jr. and Priscilla Coleman. Nathaniel's wife, Dinah, was too much under the influence of her puritan father, Representative James Coffin, to join her husband as yet. But John Coleman, Jr., Priscilla's farmer husband, had embraced Quaker principles. The great Mary's younger sons can also be listed. Jethro Starbuck, keeper

of his father's whaling business was the most human of the strong family. With him was his wife Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, daughter of William Gayer, the town clerk. Barnabas Starbuck, the youngest brother was courageously a bachelor in a day when the unmarried status was regarded "as ominous as a blazing star". He kept his father's accounts. Apparently, the seven Starbucks and the three original island Quakers constituted the meeting at is birth in 1704. The ten were regarded as being under the care of Rhode Island monthly meeting, the disciplinary body of Quakers with its headquarters in Newport, Rhode Island. Newport was chosen very probably because of the many active Friends in that place who were in a position to visit Nantucket, and there extend effective care to the infant Society on the island.

A brief word as to the basic organization of the Society of Friends is in order here. Each local group which worships together is called a local meeting. Usually several such groups unite monthly to transact group business, in the monthly meeting for discipline. This body actually enrolls and dismisses members, and is the basic authoritative unit in the Society. Groups of monthly meetings gather four times a year regionally as Quarterly Meetings, mostly for conference purposes. And once a year, Quarterly Meetings send representatives to the annual body or Yearly Meeting, which in the case of New England is held for the whole Quaker membership in that area. All yearly meetings are "descended" from London Yearly Meetings, in the sense that they have gained autonomy from the authority of that body. In the case of New England that was achieved finally in 1683, a hundred years before its political counterport was achieved by the United States. Though each yearly meeting is autonomous, visiting ministers from London, and other places receive official right to participate in all activities when visiting, and as well the yearly meeting exchange formal greetings known as "epistles" each year. Through the efforts of Thomas Story, the Nantucket Meeting of Friends came into being

as a local meeting, a part of Rhode Island monthly meeting, Rhode Island Quarterly meeting, and New England yearly meeting. It would be a few year's yet before Nantucket Quakers were fully geared into the rather elaborate organic mcahinery of the New England Society of Friends.

That Story's concern was followed up is evidenced by the following extract from his journal, "Accordingly some time after we departed the Island, they did meet and the Lord did visit them...And several able living ministers were raised up by the arm of the Lord". We may well leave the account of these ministers until later. It is enough to observe that Story and company stopped en route back at the new house constructed that year in Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard, for John Coffin, Mary Starbuck's youngest brother, and then Thomas returned to spend ten years in Philadelphia, and then went back to England eventually to die there in 1742. Nantucket Meeting could boast a distinguished founder.

As yet, of course, the infant body took no group action regarding community problems. It was only a small First-day fellowship gathering for one hour, probably at 11:00 a.m. For four years this continued to be the case. During these years, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. became town clerk, and the town records a year later appeared in the typical Quaker numerical calendar. In 1706, the Probate Court began its sessions as a separate function of the county judicial activities, entering its records in a new vellum covered book. Two years later the regular sessions of the county court were divided into the "Court of sessions of the peace", and the "Inferior Court of Common Pleas". And as before indicated, criminal court was held only upon the application of a special writ, in this case granted by the General Court in Boston. By the time that Nantucket Quakerism was prepared to set up its unique disciplinary Court, the county had evolved four separate courts of its own, to handle adequately at least those contentions which did not rise among members of

the Society of Friends. Apparently organization was "in the air", as it were, in the decade between 1698 and 1708 on Nantucket. The Quaker movement evidently reached the island at the proper psychological moment for it to become part of the essential fabric of the social organization of the community.

During the four years preceeding the establishment of Nantucket Monthly Meeting in 1708, five European Friends found their way to the island. Two of these were women and left relatively little which we can trace to their influence. The first of these, Mary Banister of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, where London Yearly Meeting gathered, may have introduced the Quaker calendar, as it was first used by Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. in his account books in the year of her visit, 1705. Her companion was the same Hugh Copperthwaite of Flushing who had come in 1698. The other woman Friend was Mary Lawson, whose story is unknown except that Thomas Story influenced her to include Nantucket on her itinerary in 1706. Two of the men arrived together a few weeks before Mary Lawson. They were John Fothergill, Sr. and William Armistead. Armistead was very probably the literary Friend who suffered tithe distraints as late as 1723. John Fathergill we can identify as the Yorkshire Journalist who followed a career in medicine. His Nantucket references are very sketchy. Evidently the inhabitants attended their meetings "freely", and "strengthing" power was experienced. His report to London yearly Meeting in 1707 is much more satisfactory, however.

> On Nantucket Island there is a fine openness and gladness to hear the Truth Declared and some gathering to it, and believe will become a pretty people. Then also come some of the Indians were very.attentive and one said tho' he understood not our words yet laying his hand on his breast said it did him good there.

Such sturdy growth makes it very understandable that the membership enlarged from ten to twenty-five persons in four years. In the early summer of 1708, the fifth misitor arrived. He was Patrick Henderson of Dunglady, County Derry, Ireland, son of a Presbyterian divine trained at the University of Edinburgh.

As in the case of Thomas Story, we are confronted with a young man "wise and learned" and of "extraordinary parts." His ministry was filled with "a great deal of sweetness...rightly dividing the word of Truth." As a zealous mystic, he held that "conversation with God [is] necessary for conversion". Already the author of a Quaker pamphlet in 1708, Henderson was fresh from imprisonment on Long Island, as a consequence to his zeal for spreading Quakerism among anti-Quaker magistrates there. Unfortunately he kept no Journal. But we do know that he suggested that Nantucket Friends petition to Newport for the group. Patrick was well equipped to present their appeal, and to speak to it with zeal and accuracy. He never returned to Nantucket, but in 1714 married the daughter of the wealthest Friend in Dublin. Two years later he and Thomas Story were put in prison together for attending Quaker meeting there. Later in life, Henderson married a second time and died in 1772 aged about 85. It was indeed a strange coincidence that the founders of the meeting for worship and the meetings for business on Nantucket, should have lodged in the same jail cell in Ireland within a generation of their Nantucket work. Such traveling about only underscores the essential international character of the Society of Friends. "No people in America traveled more than the Quakers" the dictum of a modern historian should be enlarged to include Europe as well. On Nantucket alone the following European Friends visited in the 1698-1708 decade; Thomas Turner, Thomas Chalkley, Thomas Thompson, Jr., John Richardson, Samuel Bownas, John Butler, Thomas Story, Mary Banister, John Fothergill, Sr., William Armistead, Mary Lawson, and Patrick Henderson, an even dozen. Twenty-six American Friends had joined the twelve in the work of fertilizing the ground, planting the seed, nurturing its growth and finally setting Quakerism out to be independent in its own life on the far away island.

Mary Starbuck had been faithful in bringing to Nantucket a way of life which gave every promise of inward peace to undercut all subsequent social

tensions. Her chief work in life done, she now relinquished her central place of island domination to her son and heir Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., who had been born the year the first whale was stranded on the island, had taken charge of her mercantile-whaling business, a dozen years before, and subsequently entered into her spiritual inheritance to become, like his mother, a gifted minister. When Nathaniel, Jr. assumed the clerkship of Nantucket Monthly Meeting in 1708, in addition to her clerkship of the town and proprietary, it was surely evident he had replaced his mother as the first citizen of the island.

CHAPTER IV

"At our Monthly Meeting...on Nantucket...1708"

The second decade of Nantucket Quaker life was initiated by the gathering of twenty men in the living room of the so-called Tobey House, then situated in old Sherbourne. When Nathaniel Starbuck ~~the~~ its owner built the Parliament House in 1699, he gave the "Tobey" house in which he had lived previously, to his namesake. And whenever the "bright rubb'd room" was used by one group, a second group had to use the older house. As the women Friends were naturally gathered in Mary Starbuck's home, the men adjourned to her son's place. After a period of worship, Jacob Mott, chairman of the Yearly Meeting Committee, appointed to visit Nantucket, rose and stated he felt it was the appropriate time to bring the answer to the letter of request which Patrick Henderson and Ebenezer Slocumb his companion had presented to the annual gathering in Newport.

The letter, which had been signed by nine islanders all but two of them closely connected with Mary Starbuck, requested the right to hold a monthly meeting for church affairs, and an annual retreat or public yearly meeting for worship, and if consistant with good order, to have the monthly meeting attached to a Quarterly Meeting. The answer delivered by Jacob Mott, was that there should be established a Nantucket Monthly Meeting to be held the last Second-Day of each month beginning in the sixth month of 1708; that a yearly meeting for worship be held on Sixth, Seventh and First days preceeding the monthly meeting held in Sixth month, beginning in 1708: and that a message had been sent to Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting to ascertain whether it would be in right ordering for Nantucket to be a part of its fellowship. As for the last part of the answer there was nothing to do but wait till word came from the Quarterly Meeting. As regards the second part of the answer, the public yearly or genera meeting had been held morning and afternoon for three days previously at the Parliament House. There was left for immediate action the opening of

the monthly meeting itself. After consideration, the host's name was suggested and united with as "writer" or clerk of the meeting. He came forward, scribbled a moment on a piece of paper, stood up and read, "At our monthly meeting begun and held on Nantucket ye 28 day of ye 4th month, 1708 at Ye house of Nath'll Starbuck." The clerk was then instructed to buy a book for recording minutes, which would include the requests to the Yearly Meeting and the reply. Finally the meeting authorized the procuring of land and the building of a meetinghouse.

The women Friends fifteen in number meanwhile were engaged in a morning of spiritual retirement at the Parliament House, as above indicated. At the close of the meeting they resolved to meet a month hence in the capacity of a women's monthly meeting. Four of the nine petitioners for the monthly meeting had been women, one among them Mary Starbuck. Evidently the Yearly Meeting committee had overlooked them, But the women had no intention of being without status. As the opening minute of their record book reads "Our Yearly Meeting of women ffriends...feeling the power of the lord to be amongst us, it is concluded by this meeting that there shall be a monthly meeting kept..." The power of the Lord was an authority any meeting of men Friends had to respect.

During the month which followed Nanthaniel Starbuck Jr. saw to it that $25.00 was sent to Newport to procure two vellum parchment covered minute books. Upon the outside of one he wrote, "The Monthly Meeting book of Friends on Nantucket" and on the first page "Friends of Nantucket, their monthly meeting book. Records to enter ye business of ye meeting by order and appointment of said meeting." On the women's womewhat larger book he wrote outside "The monthly meeting book of Women Friends," and inside "The monthly meeting book of women ffriends began on Nantucket 1708." Both books were ready for use at the Fifth Month business meeting, at which time bachelor Barnabas Starbuck was appointed collector of funds. The minute books had to be paid for. The women Friends apparently did no business other than select Dorcas

Starbuck, Jethro's wife to be their clerk. Thus Nantucket monthly meeting, men's and women' branches, got under way.

Who were the score of men Friends gathered that summer morning of 1708 in the clerk's living room? Five were of the visiting committee headed by Jacob Mott. With him from the meeting at Newport were Thomas Cornell, who had been on Nantucket in 1702, and William Barker, kin of Governor John Easton, and a newcomer to the island. In years to come he was to be a frequent sojourner. Then from Dartmouth there was Captain Peleg Slocumb and another of the Slocumb brother's Eliezer,(to whose memory clings a love affair with Lady Eliphel Fitzgerald, in the earlier years before the Slocumbs migrated to America.) A sixth visitor was a certain Daniel Wood of Dartmouth who received $15.00 from that meeting for transporting the committee over in his sloop.

Fourteen of the attenders were Nantucketers, of whom five had been signatories to the petition for the establishment of the Monthly Meeting. Of greatest spiritual perception, or weight in the meeting was the clerk, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., a man in the prime of life, aged 40 years. Of a wiry physique---he had purchased the forge left by Peter Folger, and was by trade a blacksmith---As might be expected the clerk was involved in the business of outfitting whaleboats. For 21 years after 1705 he served Sherbourne as town clerk and was responsible for the oversight of the common and individed land. The mark of his strong consistant Quakerism is to be found in the minute books of the town in which he used the Quaker calendar and mode of expression throughout. His name appeared naturally at the head of the list of petitioners for the monthly meeting, and for 40 years thereafter as leading minister in the meeting, his personality dominated.

Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. occupied the exact pivotal center of the Nantucket community. As the leading Friend and the chief director of the Starbuck-Coffin

land monopoly, he had to live out the central problem of the island. He was able to do this because in part no person such as John Woolman appeared on the scene to p int out that the seeds of evil, oppression, and war are inextricably mingled with property and possessions.

At any rate, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. was able to reach an integration of his problem far beyond that achieved by Stephen Hussey, who was the second man to sign the petition for a monthly meeting, and second to the clerk in importance in the meeting. Stephen Hussey was an old man, 78 years old and in all fairness it must be said a cantankerous old man. Thomas Story had observed that he was at odds with his neighbors, and the condition continued. It will be recalled that Stephen Hussey arrived on the island to occupy his father's full share, just at that juncture in which he was able to help Tristram Coffin and the full share owners to win out a partial victory in the bloodless revolution. The succeeding years found him less and less identified with the Starbuck-Coffin monopoly. For one thing, he had an independent income acquired in Barbadoes allowing for leisure time, and being "a politician of a very active type", trained as a lawyer, his "somewhat litigious temperament" asserted itself. Not satisfied that the body of proprietors had the right to limit the number of sheep pastured on the moors, he put out to graze more than his quota of 325. In 1702 the extra sheep were impounded. Stephen Hussey promptly sued the Trustees of the proprietary who also acted as selectman for the town. The inferior court of Common Pleas of Nantucket County ruled against him but he then appealed to the General Court in Boston, which was what he intended to do at the outset. Apparently the case was lost as there is a record of Stephen Hussey in 1706 asking permission to examine the first volume of town meeting minutes which permission was granted. No doubt he found what appeared to his mind, fresh evidence in favor of his legal position. Again his quota of sheep was enlarged, and a few months after the monthly meeting got under way 186 of these were also impounded, and a new suit instituted.

Had Stephen been a more consistent person, his effectiveness would have been greatly increased. Claiming interest in the downtrodden native Indians, who lost cattle on the commons and were dispoiled of household goods be whale boat crews, Stephen Hussey yet kept negro slaves. Though he remained true to his pacifist principles in the privateer scare of 1695 and afterwards, he was still hailed into court for smuggling. During the final legal encounter which produced the tragedy of his life, the town asked him to "avoid contests and janglings". The secret of Stephen Hussey's personality lay in the struggle between the spirit of contention which his low career encouraged, and the spirit of entreaty which his Quaker belief implied. Even his position as an elder in the meeting, a station indicating ability to exercise spiritual care over the membership, took a subordinate place, to his resentment of the Starbuck domination of the meeting as well as of the proprietary. Stephen Hussey's home at Monomoy may have been the old off-cenered-chimmey, lean-to house known as the "Spouter Inn" on Lower Orange Street. Though Stephen Hussey and Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. were naturally at odds, and lacking full understanding of each other, there was a very warm friendly feeling between Stephen Hussey and the clerk's next younger brother, Jethro Starbuck. An man of 37 years, Jethro inherited more of his father's business ability than his mother's religious concern, though he also occupied the station of elder in the meeting. For 30 years beginning in 1703, he was nearly always returned as one of Sherbourne's selectmen, and was asked to validate town claims against the Indians and to help lay out lots, the few times the proprietors divided small sections of common land. His name appears frequently in the town records as serving the community in a great variety of ways; from the important position of Constable, to the relatively minor post of fence viewer. The latter post, however, was not without

responsibility for the town of Sherbourne had to be "fenced in" against the sheep and cattle running free on the island. If the bars got down, gardens were destroyed. Islanders were expected to close the gates when they left town. Need for conservation of what small growth of trees there was available for fencing material is revealed by the 1710 fine of $25.00 levied on illegal cutters of trees; any informer to receive the wood. Early in 1708 Jethro Starbuck was concerned as a town father in answering Stephen Hussey's proposals concerning the validity of titles to, and the reapportionment of land, which had grown out of Hussey's examination of the town book in 1706 and which was to lead to the court action of seven months later. The patient understanding spirit which Jethro Starbuck exhibited won him the confidence of Friend Stephen.

From the vantage point of his house built in 1692, half way between Capaum Harbor and Hummock Pond, Jethro Starbuck was able to entertain visiting Friends, and serve effectively on many meeting committees. Associated with Nathaniel Jr. in the whaling store, its management was left to Jethro's able care, until an unexpected windfall gave him an independent income. His house, unfortunately no longer standing, he later moved to Milk Street in Nantucket, two doors west of New Dollar Lane, where he outlived all the founders of the meeting.

Living at the Parliament House was his single brother Barnabus Starbuck, who, aged 35 in 1708, kept his mother's Indian Bureau, and served as bookkeeper for his father's whaling enterprizes. Not active in public affairs otherwise, he served the Friends meeting well as Treasurer until his departure from Nantucket after his parents' death. As chief elder it was Barnabus' responsibility to sit head of monthly meeting to suggest the proper time for taking up business, and on First-days and Fifth-days to close the meeting for worship by shaking hands with his nearest neighbor in the great room of the Parliament House. As soon as the monthly meeting got going, a mid-week meeting was started gathering at 11:00 a.m. as did the First-day meeting.

John Coleman, Jr. like Jethro and Barnabus Starbuck, his brothers-in-law, became a Friend in 1704. Unlike them, however, he was not a petitioner for the meeting. Aged 41, Coleman was a sturdy farmer, inheriting land directly westward of the Parliament House in Sherbourne town from his grandfather Thomas, the sheep-raising pioneer. On his mother's side Coleman was a Folger, grandson of Peter, the preacher and thereby first cousin of Benjamin Franklin. A substantial citizen owning slaves, he was at least once a selectman, and in 1707 was requested to fetch up all stray Indian cattle. In 1708 he was assigned care of an Indian woman to be his indentured servant for one year as she had stolen some of his property. John Coleman Jr. sat on the jury that sentenced Sabo Finch to death in 1704, and did petty jury duty several years. Perhaps his most valuable public service was to assist Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., in laying out house lots in 1711 in Wesko, which lay next the Fish lots which had been divided as part of the Land Compact of 1678. The Wesko house lots lay south of Main Street, which incidentally had been surveyed in 1697. Four years later in 1715, John Coleman assisted Jethro Folger in laying out the planting fields of the Wesko development. Both were symptomatic of the drift eastward of Sherbourne to the great harbor. In 1710 a second landing stage was constructed there to accommodate increased trade.

But to return to the men seated in the Tobey House in 1708: two of these had been born in the old country. One of them was John Swain, the first Quaker on Nantucket, having been an original half-share owner and settler in 1661. His home was the scene of the privateer's raid in 1695, a Jacobean place which unfortunately had been burned. A recent replica has been built on the site at Polpis. Here also Thomas Story had a meeting with the Indians. As John Swain was illiterate his name did not appear on the petition for the monthly meeting, though he attended when weather conditions permitted, and spoke frequently enough to be considered a minister. He apprently took little part

in town or county affairs, being a man of about 75 years of age. In 1707, however, he was asked to check titles to Indian lands with Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., anticipatory to Stephen Hussey's proposals.

It may be recalled that both Stephen Hussey and John Swain had married strong puritans, by which their Quakerism became diluted. It happened that in 1708 each had one descendant in the meeting. John Swain's representative was his grandson William Swain, aged 20, a fisherman who was also grandson to Peter Folger through his mother. He was probably under the influence of his cousin John Coleman, Jr. and may even have been for a time the hired man on his farm. Not the strongest character in the meeting, he possessed qualities which made for stability in his more mature years.

Stephen Hussey's representative, was his very able son Batchelor Hussey, aged 23, It was not many years until he served the town as Constable and selectman. His name had already been up for jury service. His father trained him as best he could in law, but Batchelor had to make a living as he was married, so he took up the shoemaker's trade. In years to come he was frequently on meeting committes.

The other English-born original member of Nantucket Monthly Meeting was a relative newcomer from the Isle of Wight, via Martha's Vineyard named Matthew Jenkins. He had run away to sea, landed on Nantucket, and being mature for his years, married Mary Gardner. Sarah Gardner's granddaughter, when he was but aged fifteen. When we realize, however, that one reached his or her majority naturally in Colonial America when aged sixteen, the circumstance does not seem quite so remarkable. When aged 17 in 1708, Matthew did jury duty, though for his early years, he was kept away from public affairs, bu the necessities of gaining the wherewithal, at whaling, for his growing family.

Two of the remaining five men yet to be accounted for at the Tobey House in 1708 joined then and there in consequence to the impact upon them of the

spiritual power demonstrated in the three days of general meeting just preceeding the opening Monthly Meeting. Both were men of prominence and distinction, who brought prestige to the Society. One became a minister and the other an elder. The first was the Captain Nathaniel Gardner, who was involved in the Boston coastal trade, son of Sarah Gardner and the only member of her family to embrace her religion before she died. Uncle of Mary Jenkins, Captain Nathaniel was one of Nantucket's most respected citizens having served as selectman several times. Aged 43 he soon buried his wife and then spent most of his remaining years as a visiting Friends' minister. Nathaniel Gardner's home was that built by his father Richard Gardner, the fisherman, located west of Sunset Hill, near the oldest house, but unfortunately no longer standing.

The other man to be convinced was Stephen Coffin Jr., a first cousin to the Starbuck brothers, and as well to Batchelor Hussey, since both Stephen and Bachelor's mothers were sisters, members of the pro-puritan Bunker family. At 33 years of age, Stephen Coffin, Jr., was probably the most civic minded citizen of all Sherbourne. Having gotten training as fence viewer and commons viewer, he acted in close collaboration with Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., in managing the full shares of his grandfather, Tristram Coffin. He was actually the man sued by Stephen Hussey as Starbuck was town clerk, as well as Clerk of the Proprietary. In 1707, Stephen was in charge of the annual round-up of sheep the so-called "commoning" and with John Coleman, Jr. was asked to lock up the stray Indian cattle. Ten years later he was requested to maintain a pound or small fenced enclosure for placing hogs found loose on the east end of the island. After 1707, there was no systematic check kept on the number of cattle or horses put out to graze on the common land, but hogs were a different matter. They were to be kept penned or licensed. In the early years, many escaped and were a constant problem to the town. As early as 1702 the selectmen declared they were a public menance. In 1708 in company with his cousin, Jethro Starbuck, Stephen was declared an "overseer of swine". Stephen Coffin, Jr. was generally

given the responsible job of assessing town property for taxation, and many times served as selectman, and occasionally as moderator of the town meeting and as constable. He was in charge of funds in 1707 allocated for the repairing of the great room of the Parliament house, used for town meeting, and served on the committee to build the ~~first~~ second town house some years afterwards. Being closely associated with Nathaniel Starbuck, Stephen naturally invested on the ground floor in whaling enterprises. His holdings were large and his residence well built at Quaise east of John Swain's place on the great harbor. Until his untimely death, he was widely expendable in the interest of Friends Meeting, always as the clerk's right hand man.

Young Stephen Coffin joined his father by the same name when he entered into the discipline of the Friends Meeting. Stephen Sr., then aged 56, had probably become a Quaker in 1705, as he was always under the dominating influence of his sister the great Mary Starbuck. Youngest of Tristram Coffin's brood, he still lived in his father's largish estate on Capaum harbor. Evidently Tristram Coffins extensive holdings were, at least in part, held in trust by his youngest son, and heir, by an inverted pattern of primogeniture. It may be observed, parenthetically, that frequently on Nantucket, the youngest sons inherited their father's dwelling-houses. At any rate Stephen Coffin, Sr., was bringing an active civic career to a close. Already apparently he had delegated the economic management of the extensive land holdings of the Coffins, to his son Stephen Jr. Both father and son were selectmen when the monthly meeting first was gathered. In 1706 Stephen, Sr., had served on a committee to divide a small section of common land. And his name appears with those of his nephew, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., and John Coleman, Jr., in the laying out of the Wesko lots. While he lived there was no occasion for filing the troublesome deed which Tristram Coffin had made out to his daughter Mary in 1664, which was in his possession .

There was one other of the prolific Coffin family in the men's meeting of 1708. He was Samuel, 28 years old, nephew of Mary Starbuck and Stephen Coffin, Sr., and son of the John Coffin who settled in Edgartown, and whose house was the way station visited by Thomas Story and other visiting Friends. To complicate matters Samuel's mother was a daughter of Sarah (Starbuck) Austin of Dover, New Hampshire. In turn Samuel was a great grandson of the original Edward Starbuck who first visited Edgartown in 1659. Through his mother Samuel Coffin was a second cousin to Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., while through his father, Samuel was Nathaniel's first cousin. Matthew Mayhew had reason to complain of the complexity of marriage relationships on the far away island.

Samuel Coffin married onto Nantucket in 1704, was elected constable that year, joined Friends in 1706, and then for a number of years devoted himself mostly to earning a living. In 1708 the town authorized him to build a woolen mill, which was situated on what was once the Lily Pond. From the outset, a devoted Friend, Samuel was more active in the affairs of Nantucket meeting than either his uncle Stephen on his cousin Stephen.

The last member to be accounted for was Peter Folger's only Quaker son, John Folger a flour miller, aged 49, and like Samuel Coffin, a native of Edgartown. Through his notable father, John Folger was uncle to John Coleman, Jr., and William Swain. He lived in his father's house near where the marker to Benjamin Franklin's mother now stands two miles west of Nantucket town. The mill which he operated, was built in 1673, the first windmill put up on the island. A scholarly man, John Folger, was not active in public or meeting affairs. John Folger had become a Friend in 1706.

The men of Nantucket meeting were a characteristic cross-section of the upper class of Sherbourne citizens. There were, of course, several other men who attended meetings for worship, but did not go the whole way as far as Quaker testimonies were concerned. Opposite them a few prominent Nantucket citizens were markedly anti-Quaker, and they kept control of the county

offices, while Friends tended to have a majority of the incumbents in the town and proprietary offices. There was also a small group of persons, of little ability and property, who were unchurched. And then there was, of course, a larger body of Indians than all the English colonists put together who were little affected by Quakerism. One reason why some hesitated to join Friends was because of the Quaker peace testimony in time of war. In 1710, for instance, the town ordered the guns which had been purchased before Mary Starbuck became a Friend to be removed from the Parliament House, and be placed in the residence of her son-in-law, George Gardner, there to be repaired in case of need. George was son of the contentious Captain John Gardner, and naturally warlike in temperament. Of his wife Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner more later. Also in 1710, a cannon was ordered to be placed at Polpis manned by George Bunker, Jr., Martha Hussey's brother, and two cannon at Wesko in the charge of William Gayer, ex-town clerk.

Nathaniel Starbuck, Sr., was conspicuously absent from the original band of Nantucket Quakers. However in 1709, after some solid talks with visiting Friends, he declared himself a Friend and took to attending the men's business meeting. Perhaps his decision was the occasion of the removal of the arsenal from his semi-public house, which stood at the head of Hummock Pond in the very center of old Sherbourne town. Nathaniel Starbuck, Sr., was quiet spoken, a dynamic power in the very restraint he exercised over himself. Possessing three full shares of proprietary rights, he turned over their care to his namesake about the time the meeting organized. Like John Swain his experience included all the years of Nantucket from the very beginning. But unlike John Swain Nathaniel Starbuck had been forced to become Tristram Coffin's lieutenant and had thereby known the whole history of the island from the "inside". Early in 1704 he made a copy of pertinent early documents in order to draw up a definitive statement of the rights and privileges of all

groups on the island. Later that year he presented a copy of the document to the town, and it was incorporated into the town minutes as a forehanded bulwarkkagainst any manouver of Stephen Hussey's. Aged 74 in 1709, the great man was drawing his civic responsibilities to a close. He had been selectman, and as late as 1706 took part in a "peramulation" or walk about the island to inspect the over-all situation. And the next year he was asked to assist John Swain in overseeing the spring planting of the Indians. Thereafter it appears the Indians were considered to be responsible in that function. In 1707 the town voted to hire one Indian as watchman of the beaches, indicating both trust in the Indian, and need for a guard against privateers.

Nathaniel and Mary Starbuck had more to do with the Indians than any Sherbourne citizens. Her Indian store which she started in 1662 was a natural connection. To traffic liquor with the natives had been declared illegal after 1698 though there are records of her selling them beer and cider for special religious ceremonies. More typical are numerous court cases in which certain of the islanders were fined for dealing in the prohibited trade. Solomon Coleman, younger brother of John Jr., was one such in 1708. Oftener the Indian was the offender. On Nantucket as elsewhere the white man's concept of private property was hard for the red man to understand. It finally came to the place where it was considered thieving if an Indian found or borrowed an article, so hard put were Nantucketers to keep their goods intact. In 1707 Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., complained against one native for stealing property from his cellar. The court of sessions of the peace of Nantucket County found the Indian guilty and ordered him to receive ten lashes on his bare back, and to pay treble the value and of course court costs. Often the Indian was impecunious, and was then turned over to the complaimant as an indentured servant or temporary slave for varying periods of time. Two such were bound to Stephen Coffin, Jr., in 1714, each for a period of eight

years--which was a pretty stiff sentence. And then there was always the temptation of seeing to it that the indentured Indian "borrowed" something at the end of his sentence, so that he received a second or even a third term of years. Indian slavery was a very important part of the early economy on Nantucket, thereby giving leisure time to the propertied class. Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., drew up his will in such a way as to give his wife "all his Indian men", a pretty sure index of Starbuck family practice. The question may well be asked--how did Quakerism reconcile itself with such exploitation? Again the answer must be given that slavery was universl in the colonies, and no socially sensitive John Woolman had appeared to illuminate the damage done to both owner and chattel in every system of human bondage.

The twelve women of Nantucket Friends Meeting in 1708 were a strong group. Headed by Mary Starbuck they were equal to the men Friends in ability and prominence in the community. So much has been observed concerning Mary Starbuck already, that it is better to grant her the retirement which the act of 1708 implied for her. Rather we should examine with some thoroughness the group organism, which she trusted to supplant her individual leadership in the community. In 1708 aged 63, she limited her activity to her gift in the ministry. Our examination may well start with further consideration of Quaker ministry.

The phrase gift in the ministry has been used in Friends terminology to designate the ability to sense the needs of people or to speak words of healing and reconciliation to them. Such words rise spontaneously within the silence of the meeting for worship. Their ultimate source is ascribed to God, as Friends believe that not only does God himself reveal inner conditions to the speaker, but grants the guidance for help which is needed in any specific case. A friend acknowledged to have have been granted special ability to discern spiritual states was generally encouraged to travel abroad

as his gift, in the ministry was the most important authority for preserving the widespread fellowship of the Society of Friends. Visiting ministers kept a sense of intimate unity strong throughout all Quakerdom, as well as being the means for presenting the Quaker message to outsiders.

At the heart of each full fledged Quaker meeting is the meeting for business, a unique phenomenon in the religious world. It's center is God's will rather than man's opinion. Outwardly the gathering is similar to the Quaker meeting for worship, except that one suitable person is usually chosen to act in the capacity of clerk, not to preside over the assembly, but to weigh communications and viewpoints in order to judge them against the standard of the Spirit of Christ, and write down, and read back in "minute" form, those conclusions which reflect the corporate judgment of the meeting, as it is disciplined by that standard. On one hand the clerk has no authority over the meeting. A single objection results in a modification of his minute. On the other hand he has a peculiar responsibility. The meeting trusts his power of evaluation and intuition of the "grace" evident in speaking to business on the part of others. Naturally no voting takes place in an assembly which seeks obedience to an eternal word rather than a democratic analysis of differing opinions and convictions. There is no majority-minority problem in the ideal Friends business meeting. All are learners in the school of Christ, all are seekers, and all the findings are gathered up by the clerk. Worship in silence preceeds, and continues throughout and beyond the time devoted to business. No break or outward arrangement is observed, except the clerk opens or closes his minute book. Here in the fellowship of the meeting for worship and the meeting for business was found the prevading influence of Mary (Coffin) Starbuck.

Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, aged 33, wife of Elder Jethro, was the Friend designated clerk by the women's monthly meeting on Nantucket. She was daughter

of William Gayer, town clerk before Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. took up the position. And Dorcas inherited her father's executive ability, though he was of the strong anti-Quaker minority--observe his command of the cannon at Wesko in 1710. Her mother was a Starbuck, another of the daughters of the original Edward, so Dorcas married her cousin. The Gayer parents with their only son, who subsequently died, returned to England late in 1710 to attend to important properties connected with the Gayer claim to nobility. All were stricken ill and died leaving Dorcas Starbuck and her sister Damaris Coffin a fortune valued at $100,000.000. Their brother William Gayer, Jr. also left $10,000.00 to the sweetheart who had spurned his affections. She was Abigail (Coffin) Fitch, niece of Mary Starbuck and daughter of Judge Peter Doffin of New Hampshire, the man we recall who had Peter Folger imprisoned. The windfall left the Jethro Starbucks and Nathaniel Coffins financially independent. Consequently Dorcas was enabled to serve the Women's meeting many year unstintedly. She was accounted an Elder, and able marriage counsellor.

Most closely associated with Dorcas Starbuck in the work of the meeting was the wife of Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, then a woman of 34 years. Her father was Representative James Coffin, son of Tristram, and one of the original full shares men. As clerk of the county courts, he lined himself up with William Gayer against the meeting, insisting on attending Quaker weddings to give them legal sanction as it were. In the early years Quaker weddings outnumbered weddings performed by magistrates six to one. Dinah had received the kind of training however from her father which made her an effective companion to the island's outstanding citizen. She too was a Elder in the meeting. Dorcas had joined Friends in 1704 and Dinah in 1707. And both were busy raising the large families customary on Nantucket.

The one other woman minister besides Mary Starbuck was her daughter, Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, aged 32, wife of John Jr., More than any of her

brothers, she inherited the spiritual outlook of the great Mary, and was a stronger character than her husband. Of the same age as Dorcas and Dinah, Priscilla Coleman was the third member of the guiding triumvirate of the women's monthly meeting having joined Friends in 1702. Her family became the channel of the spiritual insight of the founder.

All the women so far named except Dinah Starbuck had signed the petition for the monthly meeting. The fourth signatory was an older woman, Anna Trott, aged about 50, who had moved onto the island a decade before, with her husband John Trott and family. Their house, located down toward the shearing place on Hummock Pond known as the ram pasture, is no longer standing. John Trott was a whaler of small circumstances. Anna Trott, though we know nothing of her origin, was apparently a spiritually minded woman, accounted an elder. She sat head of the women's meeting to suggest the proper time for taking up business. At least she did so until tragedy overtook her family, and then she moved farther and farther from the forefront of meeting activities. Her unmarried daughter, Mary Trott, aged 18, was accounted a member; and, as well her older married daughter Tabetha (Trott) Brown, aged 29. Tabetha's husband had vanished, rumor had it to become a privatiersman, and she was a most unhappy "grass widow". Neither of Anna Trott's daughters were destined to play a role of importance in Nantucket meeting. One other of Anna Trott's connections was her sister-in-law, Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright, aged about 70, widow of Edward Cartwright, both off-islanders. She was in reduced circumstances, and very probably lived at the Trott homestead. All four Trotts became Friends in 1705.

There were four older women in the meeting---no older men, incidentally. The four were Mary Starbuck, Anna Trott, Elizabeth Cartwright and Sarah Gardner. The last named Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner was a widow of about 75, mother of Captain Nathaniel, and grandmother of Matthew Jenkin's wife and Samuel Coffin's wife. As before mentioned she lived at the west end of Sunset Hill, and though

an elder, spent most of the remaining years of her life in her comfortable chimney corner, visited by a great company of children and grandchildren. One of the three original Friends on the island, it took the initiative of others to get the meeting going.

Mary (Gardner) Jenkins aged 22, was an exceptionally sweet spiritual young woman. She possessed the strength of character that marked her great grandmother, Sarah Shattuck, who whipped through the streets of Salem for her Quakerism in 1659. Mary Jenkins also inherited the foresight characteristic of Thomas Macy her maternal grandfather. Her husband was the run-away English lad the Jenkins became Friends in 1707.

Mary Jenkin's cousin, Miriam (Gardner) Coffin was 23 in 1708, having married Samuel Coffin the miller from Edgartown three years before. Samuel and Miriam were first cousins through their mothers who were sisters, daughters of Joseph and Sarah (Starbuck) Austin of Dover, New Hampshire. Miriam Coffin who joined in 1706 was one of the many solid Nantucket matrons who through the years raised their children to be responsible cooperative people.

Direct reference to Sarah (Starbuck) Austin reminds that she was one of the three visiting women Friends at the first general meeting, and one month later presented herself to the women's monthly meeting as a transferred member from Dover Monthly Meeting. Just when she became a Friend is unknown, but it may be presumed to have taken place about the opening of the century. What influence she brought to bear upon her brother Nathaniel Starbuck, Sr., is not known either, though she probably encouraged him to become a Friend as he did in 1709. Sarah Austin, was a Friends minister, and a widow with little family responsibilities, as her age was about 70. She came to Nantucket under a sense of concern for the meeting in its infancy, and she remained as a very effective worker for three years. Then her certificate was again removed back to Dover, where she remarried. While on Nantucket

Sarah Austin made her home with her grandchildren Samuel and Miriam Coffin on the Lily Pond. The small dwelling near Gull Island Inn, on the lane, may have been the house where they lived.

Another woman visitor of Yearly Meeting time in 1708 was a third daughter of Sarah Austin by the name of Rose Tibbetts, wife of Ephriam Tibbetts, who like her mother was a minister of Dover Meeting. Rose Tibbetts came many times to Nantucket and her children married onto the island. It is interesting to reflect that in the first general meeting in 1708 four of the ten ministers present were descended of Edward Starbuck, and one other was married to his son. The third woman visitor was Jonna (Slocumb) Mott, who very naturally accompanied her husband Jacob Mott, at this most satisfactory fruition of their concern for Nantucket.

There yet remains two more women members to be noticed. The first of these like the Austins, came from the original Starbuck bailiwick, Abigail (Hall) Hussey, aged 28, Batchelor's wife. She was a daughter of Captain John Hall of Dover, New Hampshire. Equipped with a strong personality she proved very helpful in Meeting affairs, having joined in 1706. The final member was Mary (Daggett) Howes, aged 30 a native of Edgartown, and widow of Jeremiah Howes of Yarmouth on Cape Cod. She came to Nantucket to live with her husband's brother's widow. This woman Abigail (Hussey) Howes was daughter of Stephen Hussey not at all interested in Friends though her pathetic, heroic and somewhat bizarre life-story bore later consequence for the Quaker meeting on Nantucket. On her honeymoon trip with Thomas Howes, Jr., their canoe overturned. He was drowned. She swam to shore. In time a small son Thomas III was born. And with his birth came a large sum of money from his paternal grandmother's family the Prince family of Plymouth, one of whom served as Governor of the Pilgrims. With the money Abigail built the first full two story house on Nantucket with brick from Holland for the fireplace and chimneys. The

conservativism of the island was shaken to its roots. The house, massacred in a victorian renovation, still stands on lower Orange Street. It was here that Mary Howes stayed, and the young Thomas III grew up. His mother, meanwhile attracted the interest of Joseph Marshall, a successful Boston merchant, who gave up his business there to marry her, and became the master of the house built in 1704.

By the way of summary, then twelve of the original men and thirteen of the original women to become members of Nantucket monthly meeting were Friends already and therefore from the care of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting. Two men were immediately added by convincement and one woman by transfer, making a total of twenty-eight adults. Of this number sixteen were born off-island, a larger percentage than one would have expected to find. The occupational range of the twenty-eight was as follows: two merchants, one ships-captain, one lawyer, one gentleman farmer, two dirt farmers, two managers of estates, two millers, one shoemaker, one whaleman, one farmhand and fourteen housewives. There were also thirteen children in the meeting, two of whom were born off-island. Thus the total enrollment of Nantucket Quakerism at the inception of its business was 50 persons. Those gathered in business meetings in Sixth Month learned that Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting sent its invitation for Nantucket to join the fellowship of Rhode Island, Dartmouth and Greenwich Monthly Meetings. Settled on its course Nantucket Quakerism entered the decade of its infancy from 1708 to 1718.

In 1708 Nantucket Quakers were filled with a new confidence as they had been granted care over their own community relationships, over such things as marriage, moral conduct and the sending and receiving of official visitors. They were recognized in their effort as part of the Quaker fellowship, which sought to reproduce primitive christianity in spirit if not in form. Sherbourne had an inner ethic of government which became increasingly independent of the

twon and county around it. Fifty of the 325 white inhabitants of the island had elected to submit their lives to the bold Quaker experiment. And the 500 native Indians watched to learn if Quakerism should prove a new day of justice for them.

CHAPTER V

"The Discipline Formulated"

1708-1718

The Quaker way of life has always implied discipline: this discipline stands rather in contrast to the rigid sense of duty which characterizes the puritan, as it springs organically from the meeting for worship, and the meeting for business. Quaker discipline finds its characteristic expression in concern for right community relations, harmony with mankind, essential equality of opportunity for all and a stripping away of complexities which obscure the central human-divine relationship achievable in the Christian life.

We will be concerned to discover how Nantucket Monthly Meeting, the protagonist of our story, an individual in the sense of being a corporate body before the law met the problems presented by the Nantucket community. The infant Society like any child developed definite traits of character, as habitual responses were entered upon. The first ten years are particularly interesting as several initial steps were taken to formulate the Quaker discipline on the island.

In a parallel sense, it is necessary for me to exercise discipline in the further choice of material, in order to render useful the purpose of this book. Though entrancing and diverting, we must exclude the personal accounts of the majority of the members on the island, and visitors to it, excepting the few persons in either category who contributed materially to the effectiveness or the ineffectiveness of the Society on Nantucket as a social organism.

The summer after the Yearly Meeting Committee departed, Nantucket Friends got settled into the routine of Quarterly Meeting responsibilities. In the Eighth Month the men's clerk and Captain Nathaniel Gardner embarked for Newport as representatives of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. They were

cordially received at the large and impressive gathering in the ship-roof meetinghouse, and more important, they were admitted to the "select" Quarterly Meeting of ministers, which met previous to the general session. Nathaniel Gardner was recognized as a minister at that time and both were appointed "overseer of worship and testimony" on Nantucket, an office instituted three months earlier. The select meeting was established in 1701 to allow for specific reports four times a year on the state of the meeting for worship and the ministry from each particular meeting. A similar select Yearly Meeting of ministers was formed in 1707. Here both men and women did business together. Ordinarily representatives were named from subordinate to superior meetings, but as there was no local meeting of ministers as such on Nantucket, representation at select Quarterly Meeting was exceedingly hit or miss. For that matter representation at the general session was also very casual. Not only was the weather an often uncertain or a preventing circumstance, but the expense of a full week's journey militated against regular attendance. Nantucket Friends fell into the custom of appointing a small committee to prepare a Quarterly report which was sent up, following the pattern of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting in addressing an epistle to the subordinate meetings four times a year.

The initial Quarterly Meeting attended by Nantucket representatives was exercised over the Massachusetts law which required all citizens of any town where there was an established Congregational Church to pay taxes for the support of the minister or suffer a fine. Quakers were not only disinclined to pay, but were particularly requested by the Yearly Meeting in 1701 to give an annual account as to "How do all Friends keep their testimony to the Truth in refusing to pay to maintenance of the hireling ministry?" Friends believed that ministry must spring spontaneously from the group experience of silent waiting. Any other so-called ministry was considered to be faulty at best and even at worst spiritual prostitution. To bring the matter to the

attention of Joseph Dudley, governor of Massachusetts. Ebenezer Slocumb was asked to travel to Boston and to present a petition asking for exemption for members of the Society of Friends. It took twenty years of such patient pleading before relief was granted. The occasion for the 1708 protest was the arrest of Deliverance Smith, tax-collector of Dartmouth, a Friend, who refused to carry out the law. Upon hearing the report of the Quarterly Meeting, given by the representatives in Ninth Month, Nantucket Friends could be thankful they were so far removed from the vigorous policy of Boston's puritanism. The other matter reported back from Newport was that Greenwich Monthly Meeting desired a meetinghouse to be built at Kingston in South County, and Friends generally were asked to contribute to its construction.

No women Friends went to the women's Quarterly Meeting which first sat separate from the men in 1704. No arrangement for respresentation had come into being. However in 1709 the Quarterly Meeting of women Friends wrote Mary Starbuck asking if she would be willing to send a report of the year's work and concern. This she did, sitting down with her husband and three sons to write two epistles in which they said "things are pretty well amoungst us" on Nantucket. The Starbuck men constitutued the committee of the men's meeting. After the letters were written, Mary Starbuck, no doubt, cautioned her family that things are never too well, where one family does all the work. Thereafter the women Friends sent fairly regular reports of their meeting.

In 1709, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., went again to Newport this time for New England Yearly Meeting, where the committee which had been appointed the year before, produced a series of selected extracts from the epistles of many years past, to constitutue a Book of Discipline. There had already been drawn up a set of Queries, or group confessionals in 1701, one of which

applied to "hireling ministry", above quoted. These questions, however, were but a partial statement of the crystalized group guidance, which came into being as light was shed on particular problem of daily living. There was need of a comprehensive statement of Quaker belief and practice. New England Yearly Meeting adopted such a first compilation in 1709 as its Book of Discipline. London Yearly Meeting had formulated a Discipline as early as 1675. Copies were sent to each Quarterly Meeting and in turn recopied, and sent down to each monthly meeting then to be preserved as an almost sacred document kept hidden away by the clerk of each meeting. Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., received his copy at Newport in Fifth Month, 1709, when incidentally it was reported that the Kingston meetinghouse had been completed. Nantucket meeting came into being just at the time when New England Friends developed the forms and standards which transformed Quakerism from a movement into a sect.

In 1710, the two Nathaniels were to be found at New England Yearly Meeting, and Nathaniel Gardner at the Quarterly Meeting which followed. From Newport he set out on the first religious journey undertaken by a Nantucket Friend. He went at least as far south as Philadelphia, for he wrote Dinah Starbuck from Burlington, New Jersey on the 27th of 7th month that he wished he were home. Meanwhile in Sixth Month, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., asked for credentials to go also in the ministry, to Philadelphia to join his fellow member. Minutes for traveling were customarily issued to ministers though the practice had not crystalized into a regular form by 1710. The document gave the name of the minister, his prospect of journeying, and entrusted him to the Christian care of those who entertained him. Strangely enough no other Friend of Nantucket asked for such a minute till 1734. It is difficult to believe that Nantucket Quakers did not feel concerned to reciprocate the many visits received. At least it is known that some journeying was done though

without benefit of the Quaker passport. Nathaniel Starbuck returned in a few weeks, with the report that Nathaniel Gardner felt it his religious duty to take ship to England. Three years later in 1713, came news of the death of that Nantucket Friend far across the Atlantic and thereby the second Friends minister passed from the island scene. Sarah Austin had already returned to Dover in 1711.

About the time of his aunt's removal to her former home, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., reported back from Quarterly Meeting that thereafter the sessions would alternate regularly between Newport and Portsmouth. In 1712 a special dining hall was built for Quarterly Meeting sessions well equipped with bread, cheese, cider and beer. By 1712 the War of the Spanish Succession had dragged on to a critical impasse. Quarterly Meeting business reflected the situation, especially as both Massachusetts and Rhode Island,the latter under a temporary resurgence of Baptist leadership, passed laws calling for the conscription of militia. In 1702 the matter of paying taxes for the erection of fortifications was left open to Friends consciences. In 1705 just before the creation of Salem Quarterly Meeting for the North Shore, Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting censured certain Hampton, Massachusetts, Friends for not paying such fortification taxes, for which the violators of the law they were near death from prolonged imprisonment. Samuel Bowmas a weighty visiting Friend from England persuaded the Quarterly meeting to withhold the censure. However, the facts illuminate the lact of consistency and clear thinking then current on the peace question. The Query of 1701 was fairly direct--"Whether Friends do keep up Truth's testimony, against bearing of arms, training and things of that nature?" In war time, however, expediency has a very moral appearance. On the other hand there were always consistant Friends. In 1704 we recall Dartmouth authorities hailed some Quaker conscientious objectors into prison in Boston. One Dartmouth Quaker C. O. died in 1712 from the effects of his imprisonment for conscience sake. In

1709 Deliverance Smith, tax gatherer and William Wood, kin of Daniel the 1708 navigator, and others of Dartmouth meeting were imprisoned for refusing militia service. At Newport as requested in 1712 a very impressive list of tax distraints was being collected concerning the many solid Friends who steadily refused to be conscripted, or pay exemptions. Among such were Jacob Mott, Sr., Jacob Mott, Jr., William Anthony, the merchant, and Ephriam Hicks. The appropriate query from the 1701 list read, "Are Friends careful to bring their sufferings for Truth's testimony that they may be recorded?". Then at Quarterly Meeting in Fifth Month 1712 the old stand-by Ebenezer Slocumb was asked to appear before Rhode Island's Governor Benedict Arnold, to present a statement of reasons for Friends non-participation in war. Not achieving what was desired John Wanton, brother of ship-builder Joseph, was asked to join Ebenezer in presenting a petition to the Rhode Island legislature asking exemption for Friends. So great was Nathaniel Starbuck's interest that he attended both sessions, and saw to it that others were present in Fifth Month, 1713 when Ebenezer Slocumb reported the Legislature voted down the exemption. Fortunately another year brought peace. The course of the war had gone only indifferently well from the viewpoint of the British crown. It's true that Port Royal, later called Annapolis, had been taken from the French on Nova Scotia in 1710, but an attack on Quebec failed miserably the next year. As the welcome news of the Treaty of Utrecht was received in 1713, the cruel Abanaki were at last forced to their knees. Subsequently the privateer problem hit close home on Nantucket. The clerk needed all the wisdom he could gather to steady nerves and right thinking on the island. Barnabas Starbuck and John Coleman Jr. made their first official off-island appearance at that 1713 Quarterly Meeting, though the clerk had himself been at Yearly Meeting preceeding. For the first time since Nathaniel Gardner's attendance, the other Friends than Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., served as official

links to the outside Quaker world.

Barnabas Starbuck brought back a number of copies of George Fox's Primer from Quarterly Meeting, which the clerk distributed to families with growing children early in the summer of 1713. Rhode Island Friends had opened a meeting school for children in 1703, actually the precourser of Moses Brown School, and in 1712 purchased land to erect a Quaker schoolhouse. Nantucket responded to the general educational ferment by distributing appropriate texts. There were hardly more than a dozen Friends children of school age in 1713. To expect to find a school on Nantucket as early as this is consequently unreasonable. The appropriate query as regards educational activity read "Whether Friends have an honest Friend as a schoolmaster, and if not to do their utmost to endeavor to get one to teach their children, and not send them to such schools when they are taught the corrupt ways, manners, fashions and languages of the world?" Nantucket Friends, however, were not inactive along the general lines of adult education, and we find the clerk bringing back from the Eighth Month Quarterly Meeting "a parcel of stitched Quaker books" which served as the genesis of the meeting library. The Philadelphia Monthly Meeting library was started in 1705, twelve years before. Some Quaker books were, of course, already on the island, especially the fairly large selection brought by Jacob and Joanna Mott in 1707.

In 1715 a relatively new Friend by convincement, an uncle of John Coleman's, Joseph Coleman attended Quarterly Meeting in Eighth Month, while the clerk took in the preceeding meeting. Apparently 1714, the year of peace was too busy a time for Quarterly Meeting, as was 1716. Jethro Starbuck was on hand in Eighth Month, 1717 for a very interesting discussion of the slavery question. And Nathaniel his brother got to Yearly Meeting in 1718, at the close of the second decade of Nantucket Quakerism. Except that the island was host to a great company of visiting Friends, one might well conclude that Nantucket meeting was connected with the great body of Friends outside

by a very tenuous bond indeed.

The subjects of social concern which agitated Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting each brought larger consequences to Nantucket, as above noticed in this order: the problem of a state church; the problem of pacifism in wartime; and the problem of slavery. As long as Mary Starbuck lived, no group formed on Nantucket active enough to merit the establishment of a Congregational or Puritan Church. There was a Reverend Mr. Rawson on the island the summer the monthly meeting started, for the purpose of preaching to at least one of the four Indian congregations organized by that time. It may be assumed he had missionary successors during the ten years from 1708 to 1718. Evidently they limited their ministrations to the natives though the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Boston was successful in erecting a Congregational Meetinghouse in the town of Dartmouth in 1712, as before observed. Apparently the conversion of Mary Starbuck to Quakerism in 1704 finished off the ministrations of the visiting Baptist preachers. As regard the impingement of war on Nantucket,

late in the winter of 1710 a French privateer appeared and impressed two men, one of them Damaris (Gayer) Coffin's husband Nathaniel Coffin. Though neither of them were Friends, Damaris was sister to the women's clerk, and the incident struck home. The island was in a feverish state of excitement, and the cannon kept primed at Wesko and Polpis. Friends generally remained quiet, and the scare passed away. Meanwhile William Gayer set sail with his family for England where before his premature death, he was able to raise the ransom for his son-in-law to rescue him from the French prison in which he was finally incarcerated. Nathaniel Coffin returned to Nantucket in 1714.

Very probably the incident told of Jethro Starbuck occurred between 1710 and 1714 . Master of a whaling sloop, sailing off shore he was accosted by a French privateer. He came about and with mops and salt water overcame the

boarding party. The French war vessel hesitated to fire onto its own men, so Jethro ran before the wind, and when off harbor, set his prisoners adrift in a dory, so they could be picked up by the pursuing Frenchmen. He chose his weapons, and won the fight without bloodshed. After 1712 when Stephen's son, Silvanus Hussey killed the first sperm whale on the high seas, Nantucketers forsook their beach-head industry, and outfitted sloops of every description to pursue the more lucrative source of oil. It was on such a sail that Jethro Starbuck stuck by his Quaker pacifist principles. There may have been other similar incidents. At any rate the peace of 1714 to 1739 was a godsend to Nantucket's whaling industry. In 1712 Edward Wanton Quaker ship-builder at Scituate built the Eagle of 30 tons, the sloop with which Silvanus Hussey overtook the first sperm whale. So excellent was his financial return that the next year he patronized Joseph Wanton's yard at Tiverton for another sloop the Bristol of only 14 tons, but with good fast lines. Other owners expanded at the same pace.

The problem of the rightness of slavery had troubled the Quaker conscience as early as 1688 when some Mennonites who were a part of Dublin Monthly Meeting near Philadelphia questioned the institution. Not happy with the indifference with which the proposition was met, they withdrew in 1709 to become a Mennonite Church. Nevertheless the seeds had been sown, and the anti-slavery idea took root at least tentatively in many individual Quaker consciouses. The first published anti-slavery item was put out by the followers of George Keith a schismatic Philadelphia Friend, an imprint which appeared in 1693 under the title An Exhortation and Caution to Friends concerning buying or keeping of Negroes. Though Thomas Chalkley wrote nothing on the subject, he was widely known for his anti-slavery views. In 1715 John Hepburn, again of Philadelphia issued the second American anti-slavery imprint called The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule....

The slavery problem was brought explicitly to the attention of Nantucket Monthly Meeting at General Meeting time in 1713, when Thomas Chalkley accompanied an English Friend, John Farmer, to the island. Both kept journals, though Chalkley leaves but a passing word of his first visit after the meeting had gotten going. Farmer's religious diary is also meagre, reflecting only his impressions of good religious opportunities which were engaged upon. Farmer had just witnessed the evils of slavery in the West Indies, and preached vigorously against the black wrong which he saw. Indeed his exhortation was so effective that Priscilla Coleman persuaded her husband John Jr. to manumit some negroes he had recently purchased at Newport. Farmer was not so well received in Newport where some Friends were deeply involved in the iniquitous triangular trade. By 1708 Newport had 29 vessels so sailing, and 60 such by 1721. In 1717 John Farmer appeared again on Nantucket, when he read and had approved his treatise against slavery. In fact his ministry and views were endorsed by the first "returning minute" ever given a visiting Friend on Nantucket. This time, however, he tangled seriously with the elders of the Newport meeting, where, instead of waiting patiently, he engaged in name calling. By the time he had reached Philadelphia, he was known as a trouble-maker. There John Farmer was disowned for his quarrelsome spirit, and after carrying appeals to Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, died in obscurity in England in 1725. As for as slavery was concerned the Society of Friends was to wait for the tender firmness of John Woolman.

Indeed so callous was one New England woman Friend, a member of Sandwich Monthly Meeting in 1711 that she strung up naked by his hands her negro slave, whom she beat so terribly that he died of his injuries. And Sandwich Meeting though it disowned her, because of her acknowledgement of wrongness of conduct, and intentions to reform, reinstated her in membership. The kindest interpretation of such terrible cruelty is that she must have been mentally

unbalanced. But the job of sensitizing the Quaker conscience was no small task, none the less.

Farmer was not the only Friend disowned for anti-slavery activity. A William Southeby of Philadelphia suffered a like fate for refusing to withdraw from print a pamphlet which went farther than the consciences of most members of the meeting. One cannot say, however, that the agitation in the 1708-1718 decade went unheeded, as Rhode Island Monthly Meeting condemned the importation of slaves in 1715 following the example of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting which had originally advised against it in 1696. In 1716 the Quarterly Meeting took cognizance of the thorny subject to the extent that they inquired what each meeting felt to be right. Dartmouth sidestepped the issue, while Nantucket to its great credit instructed Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., to write the following in the men's minute book--

> An epistle from Ye last Quarterly Meeting was read and Ye matter referred to this meeting (viz. whether it is agreeable to Truth for Friends to purchase slaves and hold them term of life) was considered and Ye sense and judgment of this meeting is that its not agreeable to Truth....

The same year Chester Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania responded to the ferment and asked Chester Quarterly Meeting to go on record against slavery. As far as is known Nantucket and Chester were the first monthly meetings to condemn the institution. Neither made much impression on their respective Quarterly Meetings. By the time Nantucket's answer was considered by New England Yearly Meeting in 1717, the annual assembly was willing to issue only an advice, not as strong as a query, which questioned active participation in the slave trade. This was the decision approved at the subsequent Quarterly Meeting which Jethro Starbuck attended and a stronger statement was added that it was inconsistent for Friends to buy and hold slaves. It may be observed that, in spite of Nantucket's advanced views, there were always a few negro slaves owned by some Friends on the island in the 1708-1763 period.

Though the crystalization of opinion on wider social interests was important for the development of Nantucket Monthly Meeting, of greater value were the efforts to formulate a cohesive inner community. Non-conformists always present any group with an acid test as to its loyalty to stated ideals and standards, and as well tests the quality of affection by which the group is cemented together. If any meeting could be sure of such testing it was that on Nantucket, for it will be remembered that Stephen Hussey, the restless lawyer, went to court late in 1708 over the 186 sheep impounded by the town fathers. Early in 1709 he lost the case. To prevent another appeal to the General Court the selectmen arranged a conference at Polpis in the house of George Bunker, Jr., later that year--but to no avail. Stephen Hussey had meanwhile complicated the case by purchasing more Indian lands directly from the chiefs. As yet the meeting took no cognizance of the case despite the 1701 Query, "Where there are any differences among Friends that care be taken to put a speedy end thereto?" Perhaps since the law case antedated the meeting, Friends were reluctant to interfere, though obviously most of the selectmen were Friends.

In the autumn of 1711 the officers of the Proprietary impounded 95 more of the Hussey sheep. By the spring of 1713 Stephen Hussey was ready to file suit again, and the meeting was prepared to prevent the action. How much the meeting viewpoint was a respectable front for Starbuck astuteness is not known. In favor of a kinder interpretation are the facts that in the first London Discipline Friends were advised not to go to law with persecutors, but to demonstrate New Testament love as superior to Old Testament justice. As corollary to such loving non-resistence, Friends were asked to submit all disagreements within the Society to monthly meeting arbitration. And in 1697 it was specifically minuted that if law courts were sought out before a dispute was laid before the Monthly Meeting, the

prosecutor should be dealt with and if unwilling to condemn and forsake his conduct, to be disbarred from membership that is disowned.

Among Friends it has been customary since at least 1654 for ministers and elders to "admonish" members who act contrary to the principles of the Society. If the wayward Friend does not come to a realization of his error by the simple means of personal admonition, his irregularity is discussed in monthly meeting, and a committee appointed to "deal" with him. Usually dealing meant patient pleading, with informal meetings for worship to temper the tone of discussion. When the offender comes to realize his conduct is harmful to the expression of particular testimonies or principles, he writes a paper acknowledging his error, and promises to reform his attitude and conduct. Only by so doing could the offender of 1713 escape disownment.

At least this was the theory upon which the Quaker system of coercion was based. As to the matter of going to law Friends felt that all members of the Society should be willing to submit their differences to the business meeting in which the judgment of the group, sensitized by the Holy Spirit, would most full satisfy the needs of the contestants. To go to law outside of meeting with a fellow member indicated distrust of the method of Friends business meeting, and evinced a spirit which sought to win its case at all costs, rather than to trust the group to measure the rightness involved.

Dealing was initiated with Stephen Hussey in Third Month, 1713, when Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., and Joseph Marshall were asked to visit with him sympathetically, and find a Christian solution to the controversy. Present at monthly meeting at that time, and helpful in encouraging a straight forward firm course was a weighty Friend of Hampton Monthly Meeting named Jacob Merrill. At every stage in the case of Stephen Hussey, the stable influence of visiting Friends was felt. Jacob Merrill, knew of Stephen Hussey's

reputation through Thomas Story, for whom he arranged public religious debates on the north shore after the latter's stay on Nantucket.

The committee was poorly chosen for Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., was Stephen's chief advisory. The appointment of Joseph Marshall helped but little, as he was a newly-convinced Friend, and his relations with his father-in-law were not too cordial. It may be recalled he married Stephen's daughter the strong-minded Abigail (Hussey) Howes. In 1713 Marshall managed a rope walk an industry closely allied to Starbuck whaling. The upshot of their visit was that Stephen Hussey appeared at the Fourth Month business meeting in a spirited defense of his looking to law courts, saying others than Friends were involved. This was admitted, although the meeting was not satisfied. Upon the advice of Thomas Chalkley who happened along for a third visit, Stephen Coffin Jr., was added to the committee, with the thought that his interests in the east part of the island would more nearly coincide with Stephen Hussey's viewpoint.

In Fifth Month Joseph Marshall reported on behalf of the committee that Stephen Hussey would agree to drop the suit against the town, if the meeting would persuade the town to drop its claims, that is return him 95 sheep. To this settlement the meeting reluctantly agreed, as there was no real synthesis of viewpoint achieved as later events proved. Apparently the meeting was loathe to push Stephen Hussey when the case was not entirely clear against him.

Matters drifted. The meeting did nothing officially to press the town officials, and Stephen grew impatient. Early in the spring of 1716 his patience was exhausted, and he went to law again. Still the meeting hesitated to act against him. To be consistent, however, all members of meeting withdrew from jury service. For twenty years thereafter Nantucket Quakers obstained from the petty jury, though their names are found composing

the grand jury. Apparently the act of producing an indictment was considered consistent with Friends practice, while passing sentence was not. Stephen Hussey lost his case in 1716, as usual, and appealed to the General Court where he received some encouragement.

In Sixth Month 1717 the monthly meeting was informed that Stephen was about to file suit again. Friends felt they had waited long enough, and so appointed Jethro Starbuck to go plead with the old man. The friendship between them was the one last hope disownment could be avoided. Stephen was adamant, and so in Seventh Month 1717 with great reluctance, Friends disowned the 87 year old member--disowned him specifically for applying to the county court officials for warrants of arrest, and subsequently imprisoning Stephen Coffin, Jr., and others of the board of selectmen. A strong Philadelphia Friend was present to steady the hand of the clerk as he penned the document ending Stephena Hussey's membership. He was John Cadwallader, aged 41, a minister of Abington Monthly Meeting, generally recognized as a "father in Israel". It was his ambitions to visit every Friends meeting in the world, which he did before he joined the illustrious group who died on Tortola in 1742. One wonders if John Cadwallader recognized the climax of drama which his Nantucket visit witnessed.

There is an element of tragedy that an old man could not abide by the discipline, and that the proprietary officials were so conservative in their outlook on property. And because the compromise of 1713 showed its real character, there was cut off from Nantucket meeting its most colorful personality. He left in the meeting three children and four grandchildren, all of who turned away from the old man, leaving him a pitiful figure. If there had been no Friends Meeting on the island, and Stephen not been a member, he might have stirred up a second "bloodless revolution". As it was he was not fully trusted by the anti-Quaker minority in town, and due to the operation of a religious discipline, which he regarded as irrelevant to the situation, he

emerged from the encounter a somewhat ridiculous figure, a failure. Stephen continued the 1717 case, appealing in 1718 again to the General Court, the year of his death. He died an unhappy man but proud to the end. In his will he gave his Monomoy property and slave Sarah to his puritan wife, his negro boy Mark to son Silvanus, the whaling captain, and negro girl, Dorothy, to his young Quaker daughter Theodate. Cattle and sheep commons went to his three sons, and $10,450.00 in cash to his three daughters. As a last gesture of defiance he willed his law books to his namesake a boy, his grandson. So was buried Nantucket meeting's first elder.

The case of Tabotha (Trott) Brown next claims attention throwing light upon Nantucket family life. Weary of her enforced widowhood her husband had departed to become a privateersman or pirate. Tabotha eloped with a certain John Frost, not a Friend, without taking care to ascertain whether or not her former husband was still alive. Friends talked with her. She maintained a defiant attitude, saying she could marry whom she chose, and in whatever manner pleased her. Monthly Meeting late in 1713 disowned Tabotha and sent a paper of disownment to Newport, whence she had gone, signed by six members. She had been an original member in 1708 a woman of 34 years of age. Years later she married a third time and returned to die on Nantucket in 1749.

The subject of Quaker disownments for marrying out of meeting has received many critical appraisals. Almost all modern Friends condemn the action as demonstrating a too narrow interpretation of Christian community. The weight of evidence, however is not conclusive. The truth of the matter is that disownment has become a bugaboo today, and many people mistakenly believe that every Friend who married out of meeting, and refused to state he was sorry for marrying the girl of his choice, was excommunicated forthwith.

To correct such erroneous impressions is imperative for understanding the real problem involved. No Friend was disowned without first receiving admonition and usually committees of dealing. And in some cases the dealing was dragged out over a span of years. He was never asked to state his regret for marrying his wife, but he was expected to come to a realization that by marrying out of meeting he had denied the Quaker community its part in overseeing and assisting him in the formation of a new home. The Quaker Meeting was a close-knit group. Its social cohesion rested in the willingness of the members to submit important decisions to group judgment. The monthly meeting itself was the vehicle for judgment. And it must be remembered that monthly meeting was a religious exercise, in which obedience to the Holy Spirit was preeminent. To marry out of meeting was therefor to deny the importance of the immediacy of God's spirit, as well as of the group discipline. The double denial was intensified as either a magistrate or a clergyman had to act in the place of the Lord's prompting, as in Friends ceremony. Lastly there was the problem of insuring Quaker loyalty from a family, whose inception expressed a wilful independence of well established group practice. This fact is the more accentuated, when it realized that non-Friends could nearly always be married under the care of the meeting.

As to the character of disownment itself, it was in no real sense a protestant counterpart to catholic excommunication. Any adverse judgment of a monthly meeting was open to appeal at Quarterly Meeting, and again to appeal at the yearly meeting. If finally disowned, the ex-Friend could always seek reinstatement by writing a letter of condemnation of his former conduct. While disowned the ex-Friend could not claim to be a Quaker, nor could he take part in the business of monthly meeting, though he could, and sometimes did continue to attend meetings for worship. Social pressure often made disownment a worse weapon than it otherwise would have been, but in itself, it was a comparatively mild disciplinary device, which removed from

the business meeting and from the official name "Quaker", those persons who obviously refused to be governed by the primary distinctive principle of the Society of Friends.

Tabotha Frost was disowned because of her attitude, not so much because she married out of meeting, and not so much because she might have been committing bigamy. Both were acts harmful to the Quaker community, and she might have been disowned for either of them in itself, but she was no longer owned as a Nantucket Quaker because her spirit was contentious.

Two of the Queries of 1701 gave clue to the standard which was expected of Friends in the early Nantucket meeting. "How do young people come up in the Truth, and such as are parents of children answer their duty in laboring that the youth be kept out of the corrupting friendships of the world?" and "Whither all young and unmarried people among Friends be careful not to make motion or procedure one with another, upon the accn't of marriage without first acquainting parents or guardians therewith, and if such have not parents or guardians, let them acquaint some Friend or Friends therewith before they proceed, and also that Friends be careful not to make too early and unsavory proceedings in second marriages, after the death of husband or wife?" In nearly every case the high standard aimed for was achieved. Contrary to common tradition, Nantucket Monthly Meeting, at least in its formative years, disowned but only two Friends, Stephen Hussey and Tabotha Frost. Nor were there many cases of sex irregularity to be inquired into. However the first of such was discussed in monthly meeting in Ninth Month of 1715.

Two visitors were present at the time. One was Thomas Thompson, Jr., a Friend from England who had been on Nantucket in 1701 when Jacob Mott, Jr., first preached. The other was David Irish of the Riverton Meeting, where Joseph Wanton attended. They heard William Swain, aged 27 read the following:

~~William was freely forgiven when he promised to "do better".~~

". . . I have been prevailed upon by ye Enemy of my soul to comit such things as are scandalous, a shame, and a Great reproach to Religion, perticularly in offering to abuse and debauch my neighbor's wiffe, for which I am truly sorry and begg pardon of God . . . "

William was freely forgiven, when he promised to "do better".

Friends were mindful that whaling took away from the community, the men, especially in the summer. Some of the weaker clay were tempted and gave way. To insure that it would not be made easy for others, William Swain was directed to read his condemnation at the close of the next First-day morning meeting for worship. Such was the singularly dramatic method found necessary to preserve the integrity of Nantucket home life. And though we may shrink instinctively from the means used to bring William's outlook into fuller community perspective, one cannot but be impressed with the healthly cathartic produced by such public disclosure, apology and forgiveness. William Swain's defection, however, was a bitter blow to his aging grandfather John Swain, who hoped for better from his eldest Quaker grandson.

Early in 1717 William Swain was again before the meeting, this time to be dealt with for gambling. No committee was appointed as he was present and affirmed he would gamble no more. The query nearest meeting the case read--"That Friends be careful not to spend their precious time in drinking and smoking in tipling houses and other places, and if any be not careful therein, whether spoken to and exhorted?" William seems to have straightened out after the second encounter, though he later was party to marriage intentions which fell through. As before noted, his middle years brought out his latent potentialities of responsibility.

Of less dramatic quality was the oversight given members in need of financial aid. The first of such was Elizabeth (Trott) Cartwright, the elderly widow whose husband's estate when finally settled in 1712 went $100.00 in the "red". The women's monthly meeting, then the more vigorous financially, assumed the bill. A similar debt was assumed the next year for Mary (Daggett) Howes, who had been Abigail (Hussey) Howes companion till Abigail married Joseph Marshall in 1712. Then Mary Howes returned to Yarmouth on Cape Cod to be with her husband's family. She was hesitant to call on relatively unknown Friends of Sandwich Monthly Meeting in her need. The women's meeting on

Nantucket rallied with the $100.00 required.

In the late winter of 1714 the women's meeting sent $350.00 to Mary Starbuck's Boston granddaughter Elizabeth (Gardner) Gorham who had suffered "great loss by fire" in the coldest season of the year. Since Boston Friends were few and none weathly, Mary Starbuck felt free to ask Nantucketers to contribute, which charitable action was apparently the last the great Mary sponsored in Nantucket Meeting. Early in 1716 women Friends again gathered in $100.00 this time to assist Sarah (Skiff) Long who was in straightened circumstances. The year before Sarah, a widow aged about 50 joined the meeting, though her residence at Madaket was pretty far away for frequent attendance. Her husband Robert Long had been an off-islander as was her father James Skiff, with whom she lived. Her mother Sarah (Barnard)Skiff was a granddaughter of the original full share owner Thomas Barnard.

It might appear that men Friends were negligent in matters of raising money, but feeding widows was women's business, and besides the men had the very much more important function of financing the construction of the meeting-house authorized at the initial monthly meeting. Friends moved more slowly than might have been expected. For one thing the meeting-room of the Parliament House accomodated 100 persons, which was ample for ordinary meetings for worship, and there were few heads of families to bear the cost of building. In the spring of 1710, however, when town meeting met in the house of Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., he was granted one acre by the proprietary, in return for that which he owned and which was directly east of the Parliament house where already lay the timbering for the meetinghouse. Sherbourne was perhaps the only town in American to donate the land for the Friends meetinghouse. And what an uproar that would have raised had the facts been known in Boston. As it was, it appeared that the clerk donated the acre of ground.

There had been agitation earlier for a meetinghouse, in 1709 when Ebenezer Slocumb was on the island a third time urging the wisdom of a special meetingplace, and later that summer when Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., returned from Quarterly Meeting with the suggestion that the Apponegansett house (35'x30') would be a good model. When Nantucket's meetinghouse was actually being built by Silvanus Hussey in the fall and winter of 1710-1711, it did follow the Apponegansett lines: heavy framing, small window apertures and a steep gabled roof. It must have possessed the pre-Georgian charm evident in a contemporary Friends Meetinghouse on Cape May, New Jersey built in 1717. Toward the front were raised seats to be used as a ministers gallery, and the room held double the capacity of the Parliament House, seating 200. There was a front door, two front windows, two side doors, two side windows, and two rear windows in the little building. The meetinghouse was sufficiently complete for Yearly Meeting to be held inside in 1711, and was used as the men's monthly meeting business room, Friends being content to move over from the crowded room in the clerk's house. Women Friends continued to meet in the Parliament House till 1717 when the meetinghouse was enlarged and divided into men's and women's compartments. The cost of the building is not recorded, but it was not paid for by Yearly Meeting time in 1711. The women Friends presented Barnabas Starbuck with $250.00 towards the deficit a month later. And three months after Yearly Meeting, it was reported the meetinghouse was complete except for glass in the windows. The town meeting at that point asked that all notices of town meetings on county courts be posted on the meetinghouse doors. And it may be presumed that large secular gatherings were accomodated in the new structure.

Probably the Society of Friends in New England assisted in the expense of building the Nantucket meetinghouse. The public announcement of the building of the Kingston house had in view a general subscription, and in 1713

Sarah Austin wrote the men's clerk asking a general collection for a new meetinghouse at Dover, New Hampshire. Barnabas Starbuck as Treasurer brought together a fair sized sum that summer and sent it to his Aunt Sarah. The next year a subscription was taken for a meetinghouse in Boston replacing that built in 1695. The sperm oil boom enabled Nantucketers to be generous.

When Nantucket's new meetinghouse was first opened in Fourth Month, 1711, there sat in the men's minister's gallery eleven persons, four from off island. The idenity of two of these may be anticipated. Jacob Mott and Peleg Slocumb occupied honored places. The other two, Anthony Morris of Philadelphia and Thomas Shackle of Haddonfield, New Jersey, were also important Friends. Morris was for many years clerk of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, largest in America and as well served as the second clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In 1681 he founded Francis Perots Sons Malting Company, the oldest business still in operation in America. In civic life he served in the Provincial Supreme Court and was at least once mayor of Philadelphia. He was founder of the William Penn Charter School, and after William Penn, the most important Pennsylvania Friend. Originally from old England, he drew his "worldly business into a narrow compass" to devote himself to truth's service. He died ten years later. Thomas Shackle was perhaps the outstanding Friend of Gloucester Monthly Meeting, in whose home that monthly meeting was held until a meetinghouse was built the year of Anthony Morris' death. The six island Friends in the gallery were Barnabas Starbuck, head of meeting, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., minister, John Swain, minister, Stephen Hussey, John Colemand, Jr., Stephen Coffin, Jr., Jethro Starbuck, elders. And the seven women Friends were all Nantucketers as follows: Anna Trott, Dinah Starbuck, Sarah Gardner, Dorcas Starbuck, elders, Priscilla Coleman, Mary Starbuck and Sarah Austin, ministers; Sarah Austin was about to return to Dover.

Three years after the meetinghouse was opened, the long needed panes of glass were installed, replacing what must have been very unsatisfactory waxed

paper. Already the weather, not gentle during the winter months, necessitated some repairs. Then a year later the town of Sherbourne decided to build a town house of its own. For one thing the elder Starbucks were aging, and the anti-Quaker minority never felt fully comfortable using the Friends meetinghouse for civic purposes. The dimensions of the public house were 34' x 24' somewhat smaller than the Quaker structure. It stood west of the present old north burying ground, on a rise of land near the jail, built there in 1708 by John Macy, Jr., the outstanding carpenter in town. Stephen Coffin, Jr., was on the committee, to oversee its construction. Early in 1717 the town house was completed and the s electmen asked that all public notices be nailed on its door, as well and as previously on the Friends meetinghouse door.

Meanwhile the meeting membership had grown so that is from 70 (41 adults) in 1711 to 121 (62 adults) in 1716, it was necessary to enlarge the meetinghouse. An addition of 20 feet was made widening the structure, and allowing for a moveable wooden partition to be run down the center of the room. No longer did the women's monthly meeting gather in the Parliament House. They now had an apartment of their own. The addition increased the seating capacity from 200 to 325. A second front door, a front and a rear window were added.

Both the erection of the town house and addition to the meetinghouse indicated that the occupants of the Parliament House were drawing toward the close of their allotted years. On the 14th of Ninth Month, 1717, a very sizeable group came together in the enlarged meetinghouse for mid-week meeting and to pay their last respects to the great Mary, who had passed away two days before. The whole island felt a deep sense of loss. She had been a mother in Israel for most of her 73 years. As founder of the meeting,

senior minister, and devoted Councellor of all the members, and inhabitants, she left a place that would not be filled for many years, if at all. Her wisdom, tact, sense of bearing and authority, made kindly by love, won her the high place she held in the heart of Sherbourne. Upon receiving the news of her death from the men's clerk, a visiting Friend, Benjamin Holme, recorded in his Journal that she had been "a good instrument on the Island of Nantucket where she lived".

Mary Starbuck was survived by 40 descendants in Nantucket Meeting which then numbered 132 persons. Among these were four children, 29 grandchildren and 7 great-grandchildren. And there was also her husband for 55 years, Nathaniel, and her favorite brother Stephen Coffin. Nathaniel and Mary Starbuck were parents to ten children, as follows: Mary, who died young leaving children who became Quakers; Elizabeth, the same; Nathaniel, Jr., the men's clerk; Jethro, the elder; Barnabas, the Treasurer; Eunice, who married into the anti-Quaker Gardner's; Priscilla, the minister; Hephzibah, of Dartmouth; Ann, who died in infancy; and Paul, also, who died in infancy.

It is not easy to compass the heritage of Mary Starbuck especially as her work after 1708 is not by busy activity. Her figure however is central in the life of Nantucket till her death, and in a very real sense for all time on the island. Her passing brought to an end the first decade of the work and exercise of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. As for her husband he lived on some months longer, cared for by the faithful Barnabas.

Before her death Mary Starbuck witnessed the strength of the Quaker discipline render ineffective the socially discriptive activities of Stephen Hussey, and disown him in the interests right community relationships. She could well approve of the meetings condemnation of slavery as indicative of Quaker concern for the equality of all men. In the face of war and piracy, the meeting members stood firm in their pacifism, as categorical for the

harmony of all mankind. And the steady growth of the body of plain living Quakers must have confirmed her optimism for the future, as superfluitius were stripped away in the interests of simplicity. There was in formation that community which Crevécour described as being "obedient to the laws, even to non-resistence at home, sobriety, meekness, neatness, love of order, fondness and appetite for commerce."

Chapter 6

"Keep out of the customs, fashions and language of the world"

1708-1718

The Society of Friends has always valued family life as the naturally sustaining environment in which integrated personalities find their fullest satisfactions. It might almost be said the Society of Friends is a society of families. In latter years unfortunate tendencies toward the evolution of the exclusive Quaker family have appeared. It is well to bear in mind, however, that caricatures do not necessarily impair ideals. Historically, I think it could be proved that the Quaker family has been the greatest social strength in the movement initiated by George Fox. Nantucket exhibits no exception to the rule. Rather a survey of the Nantucket family life of the 18th century offers corroboration in no other way. Health was good. Children were numerous. And their parents trained them up in the fear and nurture of the Lord. "How Friends keep out of the customs, fashions, and language of the world and if any be not careful therein, whether spoken to or exhorted?", was more than a question written in words in 1701.

Except in a very few cases, one should hasten to add, there was little financial opportunity to life expensively on Nantucket between 1708 and 1718. True the schooner had become common to replace the ketch after 1700, and the sperm whale industry took to schooners after 1712, yet the post-war financial uncertainty absorbed most profits. In 1714 the Province distributed two and a half million dollars in paper money to ease the lack of specie, and two years later distributed five million dollars more. An ounce of silver increased in value double the original 1704 price in 1712. And the total provincial tax taken in 1718 was less than that of a decade previous. Administrative incompetancy did not help matters. Gov. Dudley retired in 1715, succeeded for a year by acting-Gov. Burgess. Then Colonel Shute, a rigid hard specie proponent entered in 1717 upon a six year quarrel with the General Court, while effective government was paralysed.

Consequently simplicity was a natural state of affairs rather than a unique

virtue. The early colonial household on Nantucket, averaging nine children, was a cooperative enterprize managed by not one woman, but several. The center of the domestic activities was the large kitchen with its huge fireplace, dutch oven, adjoining pantries, and room for persons ill or child-bearing. There was usually a hand-mill for grinding grain, a tub filled with pickle brine for preserving meat, a frame for dipping bayberry candles, and a spinning wheel and weaving frame for clothes making. Wash day was so complex a process as to occur only once monthly. As winter months prohibited gardening activities, quilting, broom-making and carpentry became household industries. Nantucket men mostly went whaling in the gardening months, and then were employed in gear and repair shops during the winter season. School was held for the children. Peter Folger's son, ex-representative Eliezer Folger, took them in hand, at first privately, and then at public expense after 1716.

The diet of the 18th century Nantucketer was varied. Fish was staple, as was mutton. Beef, turkey, deer and chicken were easily had. For vegetables they ate potatoes, corn, carrots, onions and parsnips. Minced pie was a favorite dessert. Lacks were chiefly in citrus fruits; oranges, lemons, in chocolate and in almonds. Even butter was a luxury. Cider was more common than beer, while rum was usually available. Tea and coffee were strange exotic beverages better avoided. Dishes themselves were wooden, or pewter, and in a few cases silver. Silver was particularly prized as a sound investment of one's superfluous capital. But, strangely enough, forks were rare.

Next to kitchen and dining room equipment in importance was the furnishing of the bed room, usually crowded with high and low frames, where the children slept together. Four posters with curtains gave the adults some privacy. Least in importance was the living room where parties, and family occasions were observed. A few rockers, a bench or two, a table, and a chest where were

kept a few precious books, usually furnished the rather barren room. Guests were its chief ornament. We know books were rare. Nantucket Quakers often possessed a handful of the standard biographical and theological works then available, and perhaps one or two classics and studies of navigation or geography. Except in the cases of Peter and Eleizer Folger, William Gayer, and later Benjamin Coffin, very few Nantucketers were of a literary inclination, though very few were illiterate.

In great contrast were the large sophisticated collections on the shelves of the Quaker grandees of Philadelphia and Newport. Nantucket would come into her own culturally speaking in another half century. In 1711 Boston decreed that all music and dancing should be discreetly quiet. We can imagine neither music nor dancing existed in any form on the island. Crevecoeur noticed an unusual amount of social visiting engaged upon by Nantucketers, where joking, tales of adventure and travel, and good food were characteristic. Such social intermingling took the place of more exciting entertainment. Boston fined gambling "joints" in 1719 to the extent of $10,000, and all persons buying "chances" $500.00 per offence. Needless to say Nantucket was free of speculation except in the legitimate business of whaling. "A probable expectation of reasonable profits, or of kindly assistance if they fail of success renders (Nantucketers) strangers to licentious expedients", writes the author of the Letters from an American Farmer. The "softness of diction" observed in Nantucketers by off-islanders was partly a Quaker influence.

When the islanders went to visit each other they walked, rode horseback or used simple two-wheel carts. The sea air of the island tends to invigorate, but Crevecoeur further observed an unusual quality of agility among the Nantucket males. This they developed during the nearly universal two year apprenticeship on whaling voyages between the ages of twelve and fourteen. The meeting took

cognizance of such training in the following query, "If any offer for an apprentice, or any master wants an apprentice, and if Friends be careful not to put forth their children apprentice to the worlds people?". As nearly all whaling schooners were partly Quaker owned, the standard was easily achieved. Considering the simple pattern of community life found on Nantucket in the early 18th century, the traditional Quaker simplicity resulted in no major dislocation for anyone concerned.

Rather naturally then the number of Quaker families on the island doubled in the 1708-1718 decade. Some forty additional adult members were enrolled, almost all of whom embraced Quakerism as a voluntary act of faith. One was received by transfer from another meeting. A few Quaker children reached their majority. They were replaced by eight others who were recorded as members at the request of their parents. Other than from convincement, the great gain in membership resulted from the birth of nearly sixty Quaker children. The net membership nearly tripled itself, rising from 48 to 136. The gross figure on the other hand embraced about one hundred and fifty persons who were at some time during the decade members of the Society on the island, excluding over sixty off-island Quaker visitors. Losses were relatively slight. There were the two disownments already discussed, three removals, and six deaths. Statistics are dull but in line with Quaker accuracy. The following 1701 Query accounts in large measure for our awareness of specific gains and losses, "Whether the births and deaths of Friends and their children be brought into every monthly and quarterly meeting that they may be recorded?".

A cursory survey of the ten years under observation is probably the best method for translating the above figures into genuine human situations. The birth of a baby is an event surrounded with great expectation. On Nantucket this was particularly so. The neighborhood women gathered to sit out the night of

labor with the mid-wife. Fifty-seven such gatherings occurred in Quaker homes on Nantucket between 1708 and 1718. The first took place in 1708 in the house of Batchellor Hussey, when his good wife Hannah gave birth to Jedidah, first of many hundreds of birthright Nantucket Friends. Off-island visitors were present as it happened, they being Dorcas Easton, wife of Gov. John Easton of Rhode Island, and her companion Alice Anthony, a sister-in-law of merchant William Anthony. When Huldah Hussey married in 1734, it was obvious that the first generation of Nantucket Quakerism had rounded out its cycle of activity.

Death was also considered an event of great significance. Its very finality reflected inversely the feeling experienced at the birth-watch. At both occasions food was to be had, and gifts presented afterwards at the funeral, often gloves or scarfs. The first death in 1709 was that of Capt. Nathanel Gardner's non-Quaker wife, who was the first person buried in what is now the old North Burialground. Her physician in her last illness was Dr. Griffith Owen. Dr. Owen's presence on Nantucket underscored the fact that Philadelphia, the center of American Quakerism had become aware of the "Holy Experiment" on the far away island. And as a matter of fact between 1708 and 1718 Philadelphia replaced Newport in the high quality of the visitors sent to Nantucket. A few of these Philadelphia Friends will be noticed if they contribute materially to understanding the growth of Quakerism on the island. But to return to Griffith Owen, he was one of the outstanding Friends in America, one-time personal physician to William Penn, and organizer of the Welsh migration of Quakers to Pennsylvania. Owen was a minister of Haverford Monthly Meeting and first clerk of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers in America. At least two important diplomatic ventures were interested subsequently to his care. He was author of most of the documents condemning the views and actions of George Keith, the apostate Quaker. And he negociated a friendly relationship between Philadelphia and New England Yearly Meetings. The occasion for strain had been produced by William Penn's misapprehension in 1684 that the New England meetings were subordinate

to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, then a year independant of London. In 1699 Owen restored a measure of unity and in 1705 full epistolary correspondance between the two bodies was taken up. Griffith Owen also pursued educational interests as he was first chairman of the board of the William Penn Charter School, and founder of Friends Select School, both in Philadelphia. Usually chairman of important Yearly Meeting committees, Dr. Owen wrote the Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1703, which was used in part by New England Yearly Meeting in 1709. Both Virginia and North Carolina Yearly Meetings, the only others south of Philadelphia, utilized Owen's services in drafting their first Books of Discipline. And finally, adept in Indian affairs, Owen was regarded by the Indians as equal to Penn himself, for he lived in an even more elegant house. No doubt, he was instrumental in encouraging Capt. Gardner to undertake his European journey in the ministry. And interestingly, Owen discouraged Patrick Henderson from publishing an account of his imprisonment on Long Island in 1708. Why, we do not know.

With Dr. Owen was his close friend "Bishop" John Salkeld of Chester Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, where he was one of those deeply concerned with anti-slavery sentiment. Both Salkeld and Owen had known each other in County Cumberland before migrating to America. Possessing a "great gift in the ministry" and "great openings in the Scriptures", Salkeld is credited with founding Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Ministers, and a special Second-day morning meeting for weighty Friends in and about Philadelphia, in imitation of its London prototype, where he frequently visited. Stories of his whimsies are many. On one occasion he rose in Chester Meeting to shout "fire, fire", and then added to quiet the startled hearers, "in hell to burn up the drowsy and unconcerned". When once labored with for his unconventional behavior by the young John Churchman, he replied, "Ah, Johnny, Johnny, I have overcome more than thou ever had to contend with". On another occasion Salkeld prevented an intended suicide

by speaking the following words in meeting, "Resist the devil this once and he will not trouble thee again". Of broad sympathies, he got the Elders to sit in select meeting with the ministers, and was the chief revisor of the Philadelphia Discipline which was carried out in 1719, after the death of Dr. Owen. Salkeld and Owen were considerably more important Friends than was Thomas Chalkley. Their visit was a gracious unofficial welcome to Nantucket from the fellowship of Philadelphia Quakerism, followed in 1711 by the visit of Anthony Morris, the Yearly Meeting clerk. In 1716 Salkeld and Owen returned when the monthly meeting recorded their attendance as acceptable. Their mission was twofold then, to stir up Nantucket on the slavery issue, and to offer condolences to the family of Capt. Nathaniel Gardner.

When Capt. Gardner's estate was probated, the pertinent query reading, "If Friends be advised to make their wills whilst in health, to prevent inconveniences, that may fall out by delaying the same?"; it was found he was worth #36,000.00. It was divided so that each child received $3,880.00, which necessitated the sale of his house, land and other valuable items such as quadrant, Gunter scales, bed and bolster, clothing, silver, Bible, imported English knives, needles, linen, shoemaker's tools and Indian debts (or indentures). In the eventual settlement the house went to Nathaniel Gardner Jr. and the land to the two oldest children. The estate is covered somewhat in detail as its disposition was not uncharacteristic of the procedure on the island.

Though births and deaths brought together watching parties of friends and kinspeople, marriage naturally played an even greater role in the life of the islanders. For one thing marriage was usually entered upon with a shrewd eye as to financial advantage. Romantic love was considered subordinate to family interests. Strangely enough chaperonage was practically unknown in courting and perhaps naturally illegitimate children are not infrequently encountered.

A single man was expected to marry the girl whom he had gotten into "a family way". And divorce was practically unknown. If the wife committed adultery, or if either party proved impotent, a separation could be arranged, though none such occurred in the Quaker community on Nantucket between 1708 and 1763. If one reached the advanced age of thirty without marrying, he or she was known as a "thornback".

The first Quaker wedding on Nantucket occurred in 1709 when Capt. Gardner's son Ebeneezer Gardner wed Eunice Coffin, ward of her cousin Selectman, Stephen Coffin, Jr. Eunice's late ather was Peter Coffin, Jr., son of the New Hampshire judge, and her late mother was Elizabeth (Starbuck) Coffin, later Barnard, daughter of the great Mary Starbuck. Her parents had been double-first cousins of each other, and Eunice was herself irst cousin (once) to Ebeneezer Gardner, a complex relationship, which presented a further marriage later, of his brother to her sister. I believe no more involved family jumble was ever achieved than by the first Quaker marriage on the island.

As was the regular Quaker procedure, formulated incidentally by Dr. Griffith Owen, the prospective parties disclosed their intentions of matrimony in person before two successive sessions of both men's and women's monthly meetings. A men's and a women's committee were appointed by the respective bodies to interview the principals to enquire if there was anything to hinder the proposed union. Upon clearness having been reported, the men's committee, or a new men's committee was asked to exercise oversight of the marriage ceremony itself. In this case Ebeneezer was enquired into by Stephen Coffin, Jr. and Jethro Starbuck, the bride's guardian and uncle respectively. She was enquired into by Priscilla Coleman and Dorcas Starbuck, her own aunt, and aunt by marriage respectively.

The wedding meeting, which could occur at the time of midweek meeting on

Fifth-day was publicly announced and well attended. During the usual unprogrammed silence the couple arose, joined hands, and simply stated they took each other as husband and wife in the sight of God and the meeting, till death should separate them. Then the first named of the committee of oversight read a large certificate which stated that the intentions of the parties had been approved by the monthly meeting, and noted what they had said at the special marriage meeting. The document was then signed by the married couple and the committee. Later, after the hour of unprogrammed worship had concluded, all those present signed the certificate as witnesses. Such a ceremony is almost invariably impressive; and coupled with the careful community oversight practiced, guaranteed against hasty and ill-considered unions. Eleven such marriage ceremonies were held in the Nantucket Meetinghouse before 1718.

However, much we might desire that the first Quaker marriage on Nantucket should have proved an ideal model, the case proved not to be so. Eunice (Coffin) Gardner died in 1717, and Ebeneezer, then a captain in his father's old Boston trade, soon remarried "out of meeting". He was definitely a peripheral or nominal Friend, though not disowned for "marrying out". The meeting was evidently not zealous in carrying out in practice the query which read, "How do Friends keep to First day and week day meetings, and to the hour appointed, and how Friends keep from sleeping in meetings, and if they be negligent therein whether spoken to and exhorted?".

A word about membership as such is pertinant here. No fully accurate lists were kept before 1765 and no proper application was received from those who wished to be considered full members. Attendance regularly at business meetings sufficed to indicate membership was achieved. Most younger members "joined" by requesting oversight of marriage vows. Such was the case with Ebeneezer and Eunice Gardner, and with at least one partner in the ten succeeding

marriage ceremonies. A quick glance at the other children of Capt. Gardner reveals such was not the case with Capt. Ebeneezer's older sister Hannah (Gardner) Bunker who was already married to Jabez Bunker, younger brother of the war-like George Bunker, Jr., when she brought her able husband, the first of the Bunker name into Friends meeting, also in 1709. Both eventually became elders of the Society. Next was Judith Gardner, her younger sister who followed the usual rule by marrying Benjamin Barnard under the care of the meeting in 1711. Like Hannah, Judith became a tower of strength religiously speaking. Her husband was a cousin of Sarah (Skiff) Long, the Madaket widow, whom the women's meeting assisted financially, it will be remembered. A third sister, Margaret Cardner, married into the meeting in 1717-18 after her father's death. Her choice was Jonathan Folger, son of Miller John and it happened a most difficult person to live with. One other of brothers and sisters eventually became a Friend, he being Capt Nathaniel's namesake. Of seven children who lived, five joined the Society of Friends, a proportion approximately met in a number of families on the island.

Fortunately we have a sketch of the condition of Nantucket Meeting in 1709 from the pen of William Baldwin, an Englishman en route to settle in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. His is the first contemporary report after the monthly meeting got going.

> so to Nantucket, there is a tender visitation on the inhabitants of that place. Two minist's lately raised (Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. and Nathaniel Gardner) where is a Meeting for Worship and a Monthly Meeting and care for good order respected among them we had divers meetings with them where resorted most of the island, so may say a time of love to us, leaving them in Union love & tenderness.

Baldwin became a minister of Middletown Monthly Meeting, from which base he visited Nantucket again in 1716. The overtones of Baldwin's Journal account indicate that Nantucketers were taking their Quakerism seriously. Unfortunately

his and one other are the only explicit Journal accounts available for the 1708-1718 period.

In the winter of 1709-10 occurred a very important wedding. Judith (Coffin) Folger, widow, and sister of Stephen Coffin, Jr. was married to Nathaniel Barnard, Jr., widower, and older brother of Ebeneezer Barnard. Strangely enough no committees of enquiry were named. This was Nathaniel's third marriage, his second wife having been Eunice Gardner's mother. Both participants had children by their first marriages, and four more were born to their union. Judith Barnard was an ambitious and able woman who married her children so strategically that in after years they constituted a kind of unofficial holding compant, which managed both the monopoly on land and the discipline of the Friends meeting. And as Judith lived to a matriarchial old age, she kept close reins on the whole situation. Nathaniel Barnard, Jr. died in 1718, and Judith subsequently married a third time. She and her brother were the only members of the family of Stephen Coffin, Sr. to embrace Quakerism.

Before her third marriage however, Judith engineered the Quaker wedding of her eldest daughter Kezia Folger, in 1716 to a nephew of Capt. Nathaniel Gardner, a lad named Jethro Gardner. The bride's deceased father had been a nephew of miller John Folger. This man was, as before noticed, the first of Judith's three husbands. Unfortunately Jethro Gardner's family connections were correspondingly complex. His father, James Gardner, upon the death of Jethro's mother, Mary (Starbuck) Gardner, who was also namesake of the great Mary, remarried into anti-Quaker family of Capt. John Gardner, and was therefore kept away from Friends till after his second sife's death. Meanwhile, all of James Gardner's children were drawn by their great Quaker grandmother and her family into active service in the Friends meeting. From the Quaker standpoint, they contrast favorably with their cousins, the children of Capt Nathaniel Gardner.

Both Jethro and Kezia Gardner became active committee members of the Society of Friends on Nantucket. His name especially is encountered again and again as issure of importance were discussed.

The year 1716 in which they were married also marked the convincement of Experience (Lock) Coffin, Kezia'a aunt by marriage, as Experience was the wife of that able politician Stephen Coffin, Jr. Grandaughter of one of the early Vineyard investors in the Nantucket community, Experience soon proved a valued addition to Friends. Like Nathaniel Starbuck, Sr., she held off till she was sure she wished to cast her lot with the "peculiar people". Next Stephen's and Experience's heir, Shubael Coffin, was married under the care of the meeting in 1717 to Priscilla Starbuck, daughter of the men's clerk. No doubt the match was arranged with the intention of clinching the Starbuck-Coffin land monopoly for the next generation. Unfortunately the match was a failure and brought only heartache and early death to the participants. As might be expected, his aunt the much married Judith Barnard took full advantage of the failure of the union.

Nathaniel and Dinah Starbuck married all their children with an eye to material advantage, which is most understandable considering their position as wealthy aristocrats, in fact, the first family on the island. Their eldest, sweet spirited Mary, named after her famous grandmother, married in 1710, Jethro Folger, a promising young whaler coming up in the employment of the Starbuck whaling interests. Heir of John Folger, the miller and older brother of Jonathan Folger, Jethro exceeded both in spiritual perception. Both he and Mary became elders of great weight in the meeting. When her sister, Elizabeth's marriage to George Hussey, a younger son of disowned Stephen Hussey occurred in 1717, it served to underscore the Starbuck victory over that unhappy man. George had been sent to Harvard to study law and thus to be a "thorn in the side

of the proprietors". The fact that Hussey's maternal grandfather had endowed Harvard with $10,000 allowed him to matriculate, half Quaker though he was. The lad showed great proclivity for the battle, and was expelled during his first year explicitly for dressing up as and impersonating a female. His return to Nantucket meant that he went to sea. Enough of his rudimentary law training at Harvard remained however so that in later years he represented at law the monopoly which he was trained to destroy. The others of the clerk's family were married after 1718, and can better be noticed later.

To turn to the family of the women's clerk is to meet with the first interrment in the old Quaker burial ground next the first meetinghouse. The infant buried was Dorcas Starbuck's namesake. Many babies died in colonial times, fewer probably on Nantucket than on the mainland, if the records are accurate. A last query making fourteen in all in the 1701 grouping asked, "Have Friends in every particular meeting a suitable burying ground fenced in and secure to Friends, and do Friends take care generaly to bury therin?".

Only one of Jethro and Dorcas's children married before 1718, she being Sarah Starbuck, who wed Jabez Macy, grandson of Thomas, the founder of the Nantucket settlement. One of four able Macy brothers, Jabez became an elder and minister in turn, but was the least stable member of his admirable family. Jabez and Sarah were married in 1712 under the care of the meeting.

The Macys were without a doubt, the outstanding clan to throw in their lot with the Quaker meeting after it got well started. Their inclination toward Quakerism can be traced naturally through their mother, who was a daughter of Sarah Gardner. The first of the family to join did so in 1711 after the meetinghouse was opened. He was the master carpenter John Macy, Jr. who brought in with him his growing family. Very probably Anthony Morris helped John to see his way clear. John's wife Judith (Worth) Macy was his own first cousin through

the Gardner strain, and she was also a granddaughter of William Worth, the fishing pioneer. Both became elders in the meeting. The next brother to join was Thomas Macy and his sife Deborah (Coffin) Macy. Deborah hailed from Edgartown and was the only sister of miller Samuel Coffin to embrace Quakerism. Very priminent in civic affairs, Thomas served the meeting, the town and the county as treasurer for many years. Both Thomas and Deborah achieved the station of elder. In 1712 a third brother Richard Macy and his sife Deborah (Pinkham) Macy came into the meeting. Richard was the outstanding member of the family. A physical giant, with herculean strength, he was the only uneducated member of the family. Perhaps as a consequence he was transparently democratic, and fully trusted as counsellor and elder in the meeting. Deborah was daughter to Richard Pinkham, once of the Isle of Wight, later of Dover, N.H. and then a weaver living at Polpis. Through her mother she was niece of Dinah Starbuck and cousin of Ebeneezer Gardner. The fourth brother, Jabez, joined by marriage as above indicated.

Only one of the four Macy sisters embraced Quakerism before 1718. She was Mary Macy who was married in 1711 to Solomon Coleman, John Coleman's brother. In fact their wedding was the first held in the old meetinghouse. Mary Coleman was never robust and she died in 1717. A year later Solomon remarried. His second wife, Deliverance Smitt, transferred her membership from Hampton Monthly Meeting, as she was raised in Newbury, Mass., where incidentally the great Mary Starbuck was born. Her mother had been a Hussey, a sister of Stephen. To marry onto Nantucket was to marry among cousins, as far as Deliverance Coleman was concerned. Solomon Coleman was a whaler.

Perhaps because the Macys were so little related by blood ties to the Starbucks, that they chose them for whaling partners, for certainly the 18th century found the two clans working hand in glove economically speaking. Their

warehouses, sail-lofts, rope-walks and repair shops shared the Long Wharf built by Richard Macy in 1723, and were likewise grouped together with their dwelling houses, south of Main Street and west of Pleasant. Culy's cabinet ship is today the one handicraft business in that part of town which can trace lineal descent from that whaling heyday. Probably the Starbucks respected the Macys above others for they were most vocal in opposition to the Starbuck domination in the meeting when they felt an issue of importance was at stake.

In 1713 the Pinkham name as such appears on the roster of Nantucket Quakers. Deborah (Pinkham) Macy's brother, Shubael, and his wife, Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham and family were enrolled at their own request. A niece of Jabez Bunker, she was through her mother a granddaughter of Stephen Coffin, Sr. Frequently elected constable and hog-reeve, Shubael was apparently an agent of the Proprietary. The other new family name in 1713 underscored more directly the threshold of frontier expansion upon which Nantucket was poised in that year of long desired peace. Thomas Clark, hitherto woolen miller of Plymouth, and descendant of pilgrims and sturdy Indian fighters, moved his scene of operations to Nantucket, where with his wofe Mary (Church) Clark, he embraced the discipline of non-violence and the Quaker proclivity for a remunerative trade. Thomas was soon an elder in the meeting.

It happened that 1713 also brought Nantucket as a frontier town into sharp contrast with New Garden, a Pennsylvania frontier town. Settled as an outpost of Newark Monthly Meeting in 1711, New Garden offered the wealth of the Brandywine Creek country. One of the settlers was a certain Francis Swain of Hampshire in the old country, a distant cousin to John Swain of Nantucket. With John Lowden, another New Garden pioneer from Ireland, Francis appeared on Nantucket in 1713 to persuade Nantucketers to migrate west. The sperm oil boom checked any response to move westward then, while the Swain-Lowden emissary

proved to be the first of a series, which eventually in the 1770's resulted in a wholesale migration to New Garden in North Carolina, daughter of the New Garden in Pennsylvania. Another connection with the Pennsylvania frontier was underscored when John Smith, brother of Deliverance Smith, the Quaker tax-collector of Dartmouth, came to Nantucket to advertise the beauties and advantages of frontier London Grove Meeting, only a few miles from New Garden, which he and others had settled in 1714. John Smith had married a daughter of ~~Gobb~~ Caleb Pusey, the first Quaker settler in Pennsylvania.

Other than the return of Sarah Austin and Mary Howes to their respective homes, the only additional transfer out of the membership before 1718 was Mary Trott, sister of the disowned Tabatha, who removed to Long Island in 1714, possibly to escape the embarrassment which her sister's action brought, and probably to marry there. She was followed in 1719 by a young woman, a servant in Nathaniel Barnard's household by the name of Mary Rogers. As Mary's father, a native of Edgartown, had died years before, she was placed by the court under the wardship of her first cousin, the aforesaid Nathaniel. When his eldest daughter, Dorcas, came of age Mary felt free to ask for a certificate to Long Island, where Nantucket Meeting granted her freedom to marry in 1721. She was the only person in the meeting ever to answer to the name of Rogers. While listing removals "westward", it seems right to notice that bachelor Barnabas Starbuck also received a transfer of membership in 1722, three years after his father's death. Whether or not he went to Long Island is disputable. He may have settled in Newport to handle trade for the Starbuck enterprises, or he may have followed the appeal of Francis Swain to settle on the Pennsylvania frontier. All we know is that his name vanishes from the records of the monthly meeting in 1722 and that he died ten years later.

We come now to the first explicit Journal account penned after sperm whaling

had commenced, and the one other diary entry for the decade. It is disappointingly general. In 1715 a young anti-slavery Friend from County Cornwall named Benjamin Holme wrote:

> ...and to the Island of Nantucket, where I staid about three Weeks, in which time I had several good and comfortable meetings; ther being several honest Friends on the Island: From thence I went to another Island called Martha's Vineyard...and Nathaniel Starbuck (Jr.) a Friend of Nantucket being with me, he accompanied me to (puritan) meeting....

Holme's encounter with Samuel Wiswall, pastor of the Edgartown Congregational Church is a classic of early 18th century theological disputation. Unfortunately it is not germain to out story, except that the practice of public disputation illuminates the interest in theology at the time. Holme was one of those remarkable people who make a fortune by the time they reached the age of 30, and then retired to devote their lives to charity. He had just before coming to America, been traveling in Ireland with Patrick Henderson, interestingly enough. After his departure Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., enquired, since Holme's labors had been so satisfactory, if the meeting would not care to grant a minute expressive of appreciation. This was done upon Benjamin's return in the spring. And a year later the meeting received an "epistle" from the young honored guest. There is little doubt Benjamin Holme laid much of the groundwork for the anti-slavery minute of 1717. Years later a copy of his Serious Call in Christian Love was received by Nantucket Meeting as a gift.

About the time of Holme's first visit, John Swain, the original island Quaker, died, aged about 82. Very possibly his grandson William's socially undesireable conduct hastened the end. Never a strong Friend, John Swain left only one daughter of his own children in the meeting. This daughter was Patience (Swain) Gardner, wife of Samuel Gardner, the eldest son of James Gardner, whom she married under the care of the meeting in 1711. Samuel did not neasure up to his younger brother, Jethro Gardner, though he served the community in minor civil posts. No

others, incidentally, of James Gardner's children entered the meeting till after 1718. There is no evidence that Patience Gardner was a strong Friend, but rather that her Quakerism came through her husband.

Three years after John Swain was buried, the other original male Quaker on Nantucket, Stephen Hussey, departed this life, leaving behind his sons Batchellor and George as members, and also one daughter, Theodate, who had apparently accompanied the old man to meetings in his later years. Like Patience (Swain) Gardner her Quakerism was shaky, as was only too evident when she was disowned for adultery in 1721. But that story lies far ahead in the next decade of Nantucket Quaker history. Meanwhile the list of the forty persons who joined Nantucket meeting in the years from 1708 to 1718 has been briefly elaborated. We find that the growing meeting was developing a sense of self-consciousness as a sociological entity. The decision in 1716 to purchase a manuscript record book in which Jethro Starbuck was requested to list all births, deaths, convincements, and transfers which had accorred since 1708, and to keep up the record contemporaneously thereafter is clear evidence. At the same time Nathnaiel Starbuck, Jr., listed all visitors since 1678 in a small "Catalogue of the...publick Friends....", which list was probably kept contemporaneously by his son and hier, Paul Starbuck, a young man of whom much was to be heard till his heath in 1759.

The meeting reached its tenth anniversary as a disciplinary body with an enlarged sense of assurance and optimism, despite the loss of at least five senior counsellors, including the founder. Paradoxically, though the ideal of simplicity and withdrawal from worldly standards was gaining ground on the island, that very process was producing in Nantucket Monthly Meeting a very worldly quality namely, extensive power over men's lives. As we finish this chapter with a brief survey of the political and economic prospects of 1718, we are struck with the fact that the conditions of that year promised only too well for the growth of the

simplicity-power complex within the community. And though it may seem at first glance incongruous to finish a chapter devoted primarily to simple fireside circles, with wider considerations of sociological development, there very trends were profoundly to affect and eventually transform the household life on the island.

Politically Nantucket town was more shaken by the maneuvers of Stephen Hussey than the records of the Friends Meeting indicate. As early as 1709 when the selectmen were holding talks with Stephen, they had in mind to divide the Wesko land area as useful in preserving for the Proprietary the good will of the community. In 1712/13 a plan was submitted and the lots subsequently surveyed as earlier observed. A year earlier some South Shore farm lots were surveyed. The most startling development however was the division in Tenth Month, 1716, to divide the Proprietor's Meeting from the Town Meeting. Henceforward the generality of people were excluded from knowing the true inwardness of land control, unless they were proper common land-holders. And the town meetings was freed, at least relatively, from Hussey's "janglings", In 1713 the General Court of Massachusetts had specified how Proprietors Meetings should be constituted to be considered legal. Five proprietors were to apply to a justice for a warrant. The warrant was then to be delivered to the clerk, who gave a two-weeks notice when the meeting was to be held. Although the Nantucket Proprietary had been a legal corporation since 1687, most other Massachusetts proprietaries only became such in 1713. A quasi-corporate status had been granted in 1694 and all such grants had been originally confirmed in 1682. Apparently the political-economic life of the colony had been intimately tied up with the fact of controversy between the "landed aristocracy" and "cottagers". The unique developments on Nantucket were; that in its inception the Proprietary was a quit-rent patroonship; that it had an economic base in sheep-raising; that it was free of State Church control; and that it flourished, while most of the others atrophied after the middle of

the 18th century. Why? Perhaps because the Nantucket proprietors were resident. Certainly the system disappeared more quickly when the owners were absentee. It was still vigorous enough everywhere however till 1750 so that sizes and distributions of paper money issues were determined on the basis of proprietary holdings. And on Nantucket as elsewhere the Proprietary was concerned in the cutting of wood, the building of roads, of wharfs, of mills, and control of water rights. Such economic prerogatives, coupled with certificates of "sheep commons" meant power; power which on Nantucket was slipping increasingly under the indirect control of the Society of Friends.

In 1717, the year after town and Proprietary parted company, all holdings in fee simply were re-surveyed, the first time since the land compact of 1678. Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., as clerk of both meetings, acted as chairman. Eleazer Folger, the school teacher surveyed the properties. The policy group included Thomas Macy, treasurer, Batchellor Hussey, at odds with his father, and George Hussey, to act as lawyer. All of Monomay was opened to settlement at this time. The forehanded work of this committee very probably saved Nantucket from any major revolutionary action over land till the British-American War of 1775-1783.

It will be recalled that Stephen Hussey had been in the practice of buying unauthorized Indian lands. Purchase of such lands was carefully regulated by a Massachusetts Statute of 1701. However, all appeals regarding such lands were left in such a way as to be lodged directly with the General Court. This Stephen Hussey did frequently, till the Court threatened to join Nantucket County to Boston dominated Suffolk County in order to better control a situation they could not but regard as out of hand. In 1717 Rep. James Coffin had a difficult assignment in persuading the General Cpirt not to carry out its threatened intention. In 1718 with Stephen dead, everyone could breathe more easily.

Figures for the whaling industry in 1718 are not directly available. But

in 1715 the island manned sic sloops which grossed $55,000.00 taking 660 barrells of oil and 11,000 lbs. of bone. Each schooner ran about 30 tons and was valued at $3,600.00 It was good business when in one year income nearly doubled capital outlay. So great was the boom in shipbuilding that Massachusetts launched 150 vessells in 1719 alone. Many of these went into the French West Indies which had been opened to colonial trade in 1717. Others went into the Marblehead cod fishing opened that year. Still others were engaged in lumber trade with England, or with Spain and Portugal in salt fish. By 1720 New England had gotten the favorable balance of trade from the mother country. Nantucket's enlarged fleet included at least the following two vessels: schooner Thomas, 12 tons from Newport in 1713; and schooner Nonsuch, 25 tons from Boston, 1714. Unfortunately whaling statistics for the early 18th century are terribly sketchy. We do know that a third "landing stage" was constructed at the great harbor in 1717. The best we can do is to surmise that Nantucketers were just coming alive to the bonanza "at their doorstep", as it were. And for our purposes such a prosperity highlights the simplicity-power dichotomy in the Friends meeting. For with increasing prosperity the ideal of simplicity must either be undermined or compromised, while the unconscious leverage of power follows a geometric progression. In the decade from 1708 to 1718 the lines of the essential struggle on Nantucket were beginning to take form.

Chapter VII

"Liberty to Labour in Moderation...."

1718-1728

Twenty years after the initial visit of Thomas Chalkley, Sherborn was a larger and considerably more highly integrated community than when he first set foot on the island. The settlement was more highly integrated in the sense that its economic and political orientation had moved steadily from the isolation of an almost tribal village, which was dominated by one personality, to the status of a vigorous port town with an ever growing participation in the life of British colonial America.

Instead of a settlement loosely centering on Capaum harbor, Nantucket now crowded down to the great harbor itself, where were the three principal docks. Instead of relying upon a relatively limited income derived from the sale of surplus wool and salt fish the islanders were doubling and redoubling their yearly cash income, as their monopoly of the whale oil trade was to bring them into every harbor on the Atlantic coast. 1722 marks the first year of really deep sea whaling. In the town itself the complex of growing institutions and financial enterprise was given direction by the high plane of social morality, expected of those participating in the Quaker way of life. True, less than one-quarter of the island were members of the Friends' Meeting, but all except a small body of anti-Quaker puritans were profoundly influenced by the Quaker discipline, and were to be found at one time or another at meetings for worship. 149 of the island's white population of 721 persons in 1719 (21%) were enrolled as members of the Society of Friends. The Indian population had probably declined to about 400 persons. 1718 is a good year to catch Nantucket in the springtime burst of its remarkable vitality.

As the second decade of Nantucket monthly meeting of Friends comes to view,

we are struck with the fact that the infancy of the meeting has passed. Perhaps the years ahead should be called "childhood". There is a surer sense of direction, while Friends continued to possess the flexible optimism which sees all things as possible. Central to such quality was the extension of Mary Starbuck's experience that truth can build men and women into the blessed community. The ultimate source of the strength of Nantucket lay in the lines of unself-conscious saints, who dispite shortcomings, mirrored spiritual Christianity at its best.

It was well that Nantucket was grounded in both spiritual and material vigor, as three major challenges were about to be presented to the island. In the spring of 1722, five years after the great snowfall of 1717, a hurricane of intensity equal or exceeding those of 1938 and 1944, not only swamped a whaling vessal with the loss of all hands, but closed permanently the ocean entrance into Capaum Harbor. In a letter to John Fothergill, prominent English Quaker, Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., expressed the concern of the island: "we hear nothing of ye poor lads yt are Lost...they were 12: in number: 6 inglish (two married) 6 indians (all married)". The double tragedy, though Friends lost no members in the shipwreck, faced them, as others in Sherborn, with the practical necessity of picking up, lock, stock and barrell, and moving the whole town to the Fish, Wesko and Monomoy lots overlooking the Great Harbor. For a decade at least, each summer witnessed the dismantling and reassembling of the precious homesteads. Eventually the old burying grounds and even the Friends' meetinghouse were left far behind on the empty rolling moors. And today only Elihu Coleman's residence, in construction just before the great migration, is left standing as a lonely reminder of the second site of the Nantucket settlement. Parenthetically, nothing remains of the original Madaket hamlet. In the long run the removal was valuable as the Great Harbor

was obviously the most advantageous site for a community oriented to the ocean. In one sense the migration of Sherborn from 1722-1732 epitomized the transformed economy of the island.

Directly after the storm, the selectmen appointed a night watchman, partly to watch for fires, but also to keep a beacon for ships off-shore on dark nights. And as a matter of fact a Dutch bark from Surinam was wrecked off the south shore the winter of 1723-24. The ship was demolished, but luckily some of the crew were rescued. Meanwhile projects to dig out Capaum harbor all failed after more than a year of unsuccessful attempts. Early in 1723 merchandising lots were laid out next to the wharf built at the foot of Main Street. Then piracy struck fear into the heart of the town. A certain Capt. Edward Low, the most "active and brutal", one might even say psychopathically sadistic of 18th centruy pirates, having ridden out the hurricane which took all his masts, captured a Nantucket whaling sloop, 80 miles from the island. Nathan Skiff, its commander, a non-Friend, was beaten, his ears cropped, and then shot through the head. Then two of Skiff's Indian crew were impressed, and others set adrift in a dory. Fortunately they were soon picked up by another Nantucket whaler. Their subsequent report of a silk-scarfed, gold ear-ringed, double-pistolled fanatic displaying meedle-point filed teeth, was enough to persuade the hot-headed among both Quaker and anti-Quaker parties to agitate the developing of military defence against such senseless seizures and violent death. Even so mellow a Friend as the clerk himself had written of a similar attack (perpetrated by the same pirate as he was then lurking in those waters) the year before, as follows:

> Our Son George Hussey was taken by ye pirates on ye 6 day of ye Last mo (Fourth month, 1722) they took from him his mainsail & best Cable & many other things--but abus'd them nott Some one man a little matter--but they took six off their indians from them two of them Since al we hear murthered--Grass villions they are--how for they may be Suffered to run on or prevail I know not".

Thomas Mumford, one of the six Indians taken, testified upon his return to Nantucket that Low had hanged two of his companions at Cape Sable in Nova Scotia.

A month after Nathaniel Starbuck had written so heatedly on the subject he returned to his usual Quaker composure in a second letter to the same correspondant:

"...My Spirit Rejoiceth in God My Savior--Who both abundantly favour'd us ye inhabitants of this Little Island in a perticular manner many waies & above what we have ever been able to ask or think."

Probably construction undertaken by Richard Macy on what is now called the Long Wharf reminded the John D. Rockefeller of 18th century Nantucket of the tremendous promise of wealth to come, as the first deep water wharf would speed the cutting up of captured whales which were dragged in to be transformed into golden guineas, through the transmutation of stinking black whale-iol. Of what significance was an isolated instance of piracy in comparison with the favors God had showered upon the recently Quakerized Nantucket?

Yet piracy was not a unique phenomenon to be found only off the Nantucket shoals. Bluebeard, the notorious Carolina capes pirate was brought to justice in these years. Some hundred or so pirates were found shipwrecked off the Cape Cod beaches in 1717. In 1719 Gov. John Wanton of Rhode Island arrested the Board of Trade officers for collusion with privateers on charges of exacting illegal fees for the protection of smugglers. Evidently many captains who had tasted the seductive fruits of legalized piracy during Queen Anne's War were loathe to give up the life of freebooting, and so hoisted the jolly roger. The Captain Low who hit Nantucket, had turned to piracy in 1714 when he lost his job in England when his wife was pregnant. Known for the

cruel torture of his victims as far afield as the Cape Verde Islands and Brazil, he was eventually set adrift by his own crew in 1724 and hanged by the French at Martinique. Before that he had engaged in Aztec-like killings, and even cannibalism. One of his lieutenants was hanged in Newport only a few months after his second Nantucket depredation. No doubt some Nantucketers went to Newport to testify against him. By 1726 a rash of piracy trials had taken the great majority of the freebooters in hand. Apparently the Abanaki War in Maine, started in 1721 by Sebastian Rale a French Jesuit, a war which closed in 1727, had a minimum of reaction upon the island community.

By 1720 Nantucket whale oil was being shipped to London, though there is no clear indication that any Nantucket owned sloop crossed the ocean as early as this. We do know that William Sewel's History of the Quakers and a grandfather's clock were among the objects purchased in London from the pounds of the first shipment. Six barrells of oil had been sent at a cost of $60.00. What the profits came to is not recorded, but we may presume them to have been large. In 1722 we know that Paul Starbuck, the clerk's heir, got as far afield as Cape Hatteras for his father recorded:

"We were favored with ye Saffe arrival of our Son paul from Carralina ye 25 of ye last mo. he continued with us three days then sail'd for boston...."

Increasing trade meant larger warehouses to be built, more valuable supplies laid in, and increasing need felt to prevent thefts and to guard against fire. In the summer of 1726 a curfew was enacted, and the night watchman empowered to arrest on sight after mightfall any Indian or Negro found loitering in the dock area of town. The increasing number of hired hands needed led to rowdyism and brawling, especially as no one understood the value of creative recreation during leisure hours. Without the protection of insurance (the first such company having only been started in Philadelphia in

1720) the uneasy property owner, Quaker though he was, can hardly be blamed for placing reliance upon police regulations.

In 1726 we are met with the first tremendous boom in the whaling business. Piracy under control, Nantucket went out full force to capture 86 whales, eleven of them being taken in one day. The following Quaker captains shared in captures: Shubael Coffin, three; Richard Coffin, a new Quaker cousin, one: Matthew Jenkins, three; George Hussey, three; Silvanus Hussey, his brother, newly convinced, two; and Nathaniel Allen, another recent Friend, three. The number taken by Friends was less than the proportion of the number of members to the total population, but no doubt the Starbuck-Macy partnership outfitted not a few of the non-Quaker captains.

That same summer of 1726 Nathaniel Starbuck resigned from his post as town clerk, a position in which he had served for twenty years. His increased business commitments were, no doubt, responsible for his withdrawal. He continued, however, as Clerk of the Proprietary several years longer, and was eventually succeeded in both posts by non-Friends, who dropped the Quaker calendar incidentally. It whould not be presumed that resignation meant abdication of control of the community. Rather it indicated a strategic withdrawal to consolidate new vantage points of monopoly, as a rapidly expanding changing economy demanded the flexibility of character Nathaniel Starbuck was great enough to demonstrate.

From what little we know of Nantucket's first citizen, we may presume him to have been as agile in his mind as he was in his wiry body. And as with many quick-witted men, he was beset with the sin of impatience. There is little to make us think he did not hold a resonably high opinion of himself. Life was good to him and he accepted his good fortune as a not unnatural blessing. One senses that if he was deficient in any one virtue, it was

probably in humor.

Nor was he troubled in his conscience in amassing the great fortune which his whaling monopoly produced. Had not Thomas Chalkley, his close friend, the successful Philadelphia merchant, written that Quakers "have liberty from God...to work or seek for Food and Raiment...it appears we not only have Liberty to labour in Moderation, but we are given to understand that it is our Duty so to do." Even more specific was the advice of John Reynall, the first great Quaker merchant prince of Philadelphia, who said:

> In doing business be a little on the Reserve and Observe well the Person thou has to do with...Keep thy Business to thy self, and don't let it be known, who thou dost Business for, or what Sorts of Goods thou Ships off. Some will want to know both, perhaps with a Design to Circumvent thee. Endevour to know what Prices other People give for Goods, but say nothing of what thou gives thy-self--or where thou Buys. It is very Probable some will tell thee they give more for a thing than they did, on Purpose to make thee buy more dear, in Order to do thee an Injury in thy Business. If thou finds out a place where they Sell cheap, keep it to thy Self for if thou Ships of Goods cheaper than others, it will increase Business.

Needless to say within the closed intimate circle of the Quaker faith John Reynall's advice was set aside judiciously in the interests of the material prosperity of Truth. George Keith, the apostate Quaker, complained that Friends were "keeping their trade within themselves and (were) maintaining a strict Correspondance and Intelligence over all ports where they are". Increasingly year after year Nathaniel came to depend upon the infinitely valuable source of political and merchandizing conditions in the British Empire, which came to his ears from the steady stream of itinerant Quaker ministers, entertained in the Tobey House in Nantucket. It would be a great mistake to underestimate the importance of systematic exchanges of information on prices and markets, which was intermingled with discussions of more "spiritual" matters. It would be a gross injustice to imply that Starbuck had become a Quaker in order to achieve his status as a remarkably successful oil monopolist.

But he was no doubt aware of the material advantages which accrued from belonging to the most active international traveling-trading society of his day. Unquestionably the Quaker merchant had an edge over the better known merchant princes of Boston, New York and Charleston. Unfortunately Quaker modesty and Puritan parochialism have hidden the importance of the Quaker merchants from our present world. Their rescue from obscurity is essential for recreating an accurate picture of Colonial America.

The closing of the old harbor mouth was a catastrophe to be faced by all Nantucketers alike. Piracy offered an especially difficult challenge to pacifist Nantucketers. The third innovation during the 1718-1728 decade was a particular challenge to the Quaker community. During the year of decision to migrate, Nathan Prince, distant cousin of young Thomas Howes III, and as well to elder Thomas Clark, arrived on the island in the guise of a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. He was one, evidently, of a series of men following the Rev. Mr. Rawson, who ministered to the Indian congregations in 1708.

Prince sent a report to his headquarters in Boston which sheds valuable light on conditions material and spiritual on Nantucket, where he prepared the way for building a puritan meetinghouse in 1725.

> As to outward and secular...it is a healthy time among us, and has always [been] and is now a peaceable part of the country, men generally given to industry and frugality and few poor and idle among them and each diligent in his business (without much differences and lawsuits) and most common of which are whaling and fishing on the sea. As to whaling they have made good voyages this summer having found them [whales] of late continuing all summer long about 15 or 20 leagues off in the ocean. But as to fishing they have had but poor success. As to the land: sheep and corn are the chief commodities. But this year has been very dry that their corn has not produc't what was usual though much more than what was expected.
>
> As to ecclesiastical affairs on the island: the people are divided into many sects, - Quakers, Presbyterians [Congregationalists], Baptists and some Philadelphians [Fundamentalists]. The Quakers are by far the prevailing part, the Presbyterians the next. The Quakers here are more

> strict and narrow in their principles than those at Sandwich and seem to be more indefatigable in spreading them than most I have known. They have more of their books here I believe than in any place throughout the country of its bigness. They have a general meeting here once a year as at Sandwich, which I suppose evidences that they look on this place as a principal one among them in the country. 'Tis strange how they have increased. Twenty years ago there was scarce one and now there are several hundreds, and all proceeded from a woman (one Starbuck) turning Quaker; who being a person of note for wisdom in this place became a preacher and soon converted so many as that they formed themselves into a society and built a meeting house and became the prevailing profession of the island.

Within the Quaker meeting there was distincy uneasiness. Although there was only a handful of confirmed puritans on the island, they were backed by the power of the Provincial government. Not only could a sizeable steeple-house be put up with the tax-payers money, but the very salary of the pastor be paid from General Court funds, as was the case in Provincetown on Cape Cod.

The meeting, nevertheless, had to brace itself for the inevitable and its twenty year monopoly of the religious life of Nantucket town was lost, never to be regained. In preparation for the onslaught, the monthly meeting in 1722 explicitly declared the support of a "hireling ministry" to be a disownable offence. Then in the winter of 1724 the meeting purchased a record-book for copying down verbatim all marriage certificates and names of witnesses. It would be well to hold documentary evidence of the legality of all weddings, if any challenge were made to the clerk of the meeting by an anti-Quaker group. At the same time systematic financial records were set up by Thomas Macy, who was chosen treasurer in 1725.

That same spring of 1725, the Reverend Timothy White appeared to serve as the first missionary pastor in the town of Sherborn. In due course, he married a granddaughter of old Capt. John Gardner, which family was the nucleus of his small congregation. By the time the winter winds bore down

again upon Nantucket, the Congregational meetinghouse had been completed, and the town had ordered notices posted on its doors as well as on the doors of the Friends and Town Houses. The new meetinghouse stood originally next to the oldest graveyard. Later it was moved two miles east, where restored to its colonial appearance, it is now known as the "Old Vestry". It is used in the winter months by the First Congregational Church, which built the much larger meetinghouse in 1834 which stands directly east of the vestry. That structure is now used during the summer months. The Boston Puritans were nothing if not confident when they put up a building considerably larger in its frame than the Friends' Meetinghouse which had been already enlarged in 1716. Seven years after the Puritans invaded the Quaker town, the meeting erected the 1732 meetinghouse, which held at least double the capacity of the Puritan structure. A show of tolerance was maintained, but underneath there was a strong spirit of rivalry. Although obviously a Georgian structure, developed from "Italian" print books, the first of which reached the colonies in 1719, the present owners of old vestry have put a sign over its door indicating that the building was built in 1711. Perhaps this is the last petty expression of the old rivalry, as the Congregationalists have adopted the Quaker meetinghouse date, since antiquity has come to be identified with presitige.

Though it is true that the alien organization stood ready to receive the renegade Quaker through the centuries, until eventually it inherited the spiritual vitality of the Quaker meeting when it was dying, yet for fully a century the Society of Friends did not yeld first place to the Puritan Establishemnt. In fact the removal in 1765 of the Vestry eastward marked the first appreciable step forward for that communion. The original establishment only quickened the Quaker activity to preserve its adherants from falling

away. In the fall of 1727, for instance, thirty copies of the difinitive Quaker position as opposed to Calvinism, Robert Barclay's Apology for the True Christian Divinity, were distributed strategically to families in the meeting. Timothy White in an unguarded letter wrote to Boston complaining of his situation among a "numerous company of Hereticks". He was unable to baptize a single member till after the 1718-1728 period.

When the State Church of Massachusetts moved into the island scene in 1725, it chose, accidentally probably, the years in which the Quaker ministry was at its first low ebb on the island. Of the original six ministers in the meeting, only two remained. Rather naturally concern was expressed for a fuller participation in the spoken word in meeting. And by 1728 considerable progress had been achieved.

First of all a minister of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting, Stephen Wilcox, by name, married into the meeting. He took as wife the much-married widow, Judith (Coffin) Folger-Barnard, daughter of Stephen Coffin Sr., and niece of Mary Starbuck, an elder of widely recognized quality. Wilcox first visited on the island at general meeting time in 1720 and then again in 1722. Evidence that the Starbucks regarded Stephen as somewhat unstable even at that early date may be found in a letter the clerk as follows: "our frd Stephen Willc instead of a Retreat (as Some have said) advances forward. [He and Judith Barnard] laid their intentions before our last monthly meeting". For a while Stephen was tolerated, and no doubt spoke prequently in meetings for worship. His certificate was slow in being transferred from Dartmouth meeting following six months after the clearness for his marriage had been granted. During the interim he attended Quarterly Meeting at Newport as a representative of his original meeting, a situation which may not have been irregular, but certainly unique. Business drew him repeatedly to the mainland. On one

occasion in 1723 his absence necessitated failure to oversee the wedding of the leading Nantucket whaler, to a daughter of Nathaniel Starbuck. The fact was unusual, though perhaps without consequences.

However, in the spring of 1725 Stephen was dealt with by Nantucket meeting for undesirable ministry and "disorderly walking". Just what the latter term inplies is unknown to us. A year before an Indian named Pharoah had been bound over to him for two years for non-payment of debt, but that was a common occurance on Nantucket. Perhaps he mistreated the man, or more likely engaged in sharp business practices, harmful to the Starbuck notion of status quo. At any rate at general meeting time, 1725, Stephen was still under dealing having made little reply to the visiting committee which was commissioned to deal with him. It happened that Nicholas Davis, Jr., of Dartmouth, a man who had known Stephen from childhood was on hand, and was available to labor with him in the interests of reconciliation. Nicholas was kinsman of the Motts and, as such, he continued the valued counsel of that family. Before leaving Nicholas extracted a promise from Stephen to cease speaking in Nantucket meeting for the sake of harmony. Apparently the promise was kept as no further dealing is recorded to have taken place. The fact that Judith Wilcox remained as an active elder in the meeting in subsequent years, probably indicates a reform in Stephen's "walking", and probably a return in time to ministry which was then considered acceptable. Did the reputed extreme-strictness of the Nantucket Quaker as reported by the Rev. Mr. Prince and others play its part in this awkward situation?

On the other hand perhaps the "coming forth" in the ministry of two of the Starbuck clan made for more than enough addition to the spoken work in meeting. In 1722 the clerk recorded:

Our kinsman Will Starbuck is come forth while I was yett in other Land

> & Doth often apear in Meetings I wish he may be preserved Saffe & yt he may nott be beguild by ye Subtle Enemy...[as was Stephen Wilcox?] he'll make or prove a noble instrument for he seems Courageous...so ye Danger seems to be on yt hand of running too fast or making more haste than Good Speed.

The other member of the Starbuck family to appear in the ministry was Nathaniel Coleman, son of Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, who was in her own right a gifted minister. In 1725 the clerk's right hand man, Stephen Coffin, Jr., met with his untimely death. It was soon evident that the young Nathaniel Coleman was chosen to fill the responsible niche left by Cousin Stephen. In years to come, Nathaniel Coleman adopted much of the domineering qualities of his able uncle, though he was probably a more "sensitive" instrument than his cousin William Starbuck. Nathaniel Coleman married relatively later in life than did most Nantucket men. As it happened the two new ministers married sisters, in turn daughters of Judith Wilcox. In the second decade of Nantucket monthly meeting was to be found the groundwork laid for leadership, or perhaps better called, management, of the middle years of Nantucket Quakerism. Paul Starbuck, the clerk's heir, was by-passed in this management, until his second marriage, when he wed Keezia Gardner, his cousin Jethro's widow, and the eldest daughter of Judith Wilcox.

The enlarged ministry of Nantucket meeting was greatly reinforced in the spring of 1727 when Samuel Bowmas, the 1705 visitor from England, returned with especial concern for the ministry. In fact his subsequent book, The Qualifications of a Gospel Minister, stands in that field as Barclay's Apology does in the field of Quaker theology. He wrote in his Journal:

> Att Nantuckett being the 6th day of ye week we had a very large meeting in the Forenoon, especially appointed and on the 1st Day had 2 meet. very Lardge and preety upon App old...the Inhabitants inclining to Friends there was great Love and Unity amongst them. I desired a select Meeting of the Elders...to whom I had something in particular to say relating to Discipline and ministry...meeting on ye 3d day following beeing very own and very Good Meeting...which was of good Service and well accepted.

> I staid two meetings more and visited Sundry Families on the Island and then took shipping back again...several of the island came with us...to a small meeting called Seepecan [Dartmouth M.M.].

What in effect happened was that Bownas called together the ministers and elders, and suggested that they should constitute themselves as a select meeting to send representatives to the Select Quarterly Meeting which sat four times a year either in Newport or in Portsmouth. Further the group was to function as an inner ecclesia within the meeting, to encourage and develop ministry, and to interpret the discipline to the members at large. Apparently the idea was too radical for immediate adoption, though the select meeting did gather for the first time after the General Meeting in 1728. Perhaps the earthquake of the previous autumn was interpreted as a sign that such an organization was necessary. We do know that the following day being a monthly meeting, the clerk wrote into the minutes the incidence of the tremor the night before. The fact that in Philadelphia Hannah (Logan) Pemberton interpreted the 1755 Lisbon earthquake as a purely physical and not a divine occurance, and was therefore considered radical in her views, would seem to corroborate the thesis that Nantucket Friends regarded the 1727 earthquake as especially indicative of divine displeasure. Our friend Samuel Bownas, being a guest in Dartmouth at the moment, left an account of the tremor: "This evening as I was going to bed, there was an exceeding great Earthquake, that made noise like the driving of Carts or Waggons on an uneven Causeway; it continued about two minutes to the great Surprise of People. It was felt about fifteen hundred miles..." Other tremors occurred in 1658, 1660, 1663, 1665, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1705, 1720, 1732, 1737, 1744, 1755, 1757 and 1761 during the century of our study. Only those of 1658, 1663, 1727 and 1755 were major quakes.

The newly constituted Select Meeting met at 9:00 a.m. on the day of monthly meeting, which pushed back its hour of gathering for the regular business session

from 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. The ministers and elders met at the house of Nathaniel Starbuck, rather than at the meetinghouse. If records were kept none have come down to us, and it may be presumed that they were not. Called the "Morning Meeting", it met only in First, Fourth, Seventh and Eleventh Months, and probably discussed the reports of the so-called visiting committees. The visiting committees were first selected when Barnabas Starbuck complained in 1719/20 that 53 were too many families for him to visit in his routine or collection of funds. At first the men Friends appointed visitors, and then the women Friends added their appointees. The committees systematically visited every family in the meeting, holding religious "opportunities", and reproving any flagrant breach of Quaker testimony. Eventually the visiting committees differentiated themselves from the larger group of elders and proceeding to meet separately, came to be known as the Committee of Overseers. By that time the Morning Meeting had acquired queries of its own, and had become an integral functioning part of the Select Yearly and Quarterly Meeting machinery.

Not only were the functions of ministers and elders strengthened and regularized during the childhood of the meeting, but the scope of the Friends business meeting itself enlarged. In the winter of 1723-24, it was decided that during the mid-week meeting on Fifth-Day preceeding Monthly Meeting, the shutters should be closed after the periol of worship, and a men's Preparative Business Meeting held to decide minor matters and sort out larger items, that is, decide the agenda for Monthly Meeting. Late in the winter the first session of Preparative Meeting gathered, and though it kept no records, it continued with an unbroken series of sessions till 1792, when the membership was divided into two Preparative Meeting groups. The women held no Preparative Meeting, however, until 1760.

The visiting committee to which referance has been made already, grew, as

might be expected, out of the demands of increased disciplinary activity in the meeting. At General Meeting time in 1720 a testimony against the wearing of "periwigs" was issued pursuant to the concern of New England Yearly Meeting of that year. A year later a query arrived from Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting condemming wigs as pernicious. Evidently Nantucket felt some Friends might of necessity rightly wear wigs, and so queried back if there were not an acceptable type of wig. In 1722 the Quarterly Meeting replied that all wigs were taboo, and as well gay hats and short hair. The committee subsequently appointed to scrutinize the sartorial appearance of Nantucket Quakerism, was in effect the first overseers or visiting committee. Unfortunately we meet with the first evidence of the kind of narrow repressive puritanism which eventually came to be the rule of the day a century later. It is to be regretted more than can be expressed that outward appearance of person rather than inward purity of heart came increasingly to be the standard of Quaker orthodoxy. Yet on the other hand, how does one control the natural worldliness of those who became members of a religious body in the later years, when a sharp break with other traditions is not required, nor even expected?

The consideration of wigs in particular led to a discussion of discipline in general. It was brought out that New England Yearly Meeting had prepared a book of advices and epistles in 1708 and 1709. As changes had been made since then, it was decided in 1721 to adk for a new copy. The new book arrived in 1722 when certain of the advices were spread in the minutes, especially those having to do with an ambiguous prohibition of marriage because of consanguinity, and the explicit prohibition of paid ministry, already noticed. Permission was granted at this time for weddings to be held at regular midweek Fifth-day meetings, as the increasing number of Quaker marriages was crowding the calendar. Ten had taken place before 1718, 29 in the current decade. Then in 1724, two years after the new Book of Discipline had arrived, Nantucket Meeting ordered twelve copies of printed advices,

probably a much abbreviated Book of Discipline. The visiting committee was well equipped with objective standards. They first reported in 1722 that only one matter was out of order. The "matter" was a "necessary" marriage, which reveals that the committee was dealing with situations outside those specifically spread in the minutes. Their first chairman, Batchellor Hussey, was apparently as thorough in his enquiries as his father Stephen had been in his objection to Starbuck land control. Even the clerk's daughter was reported for adultery in 1724 by the energetic Batchellor. The visiting committee seems to have flagged in its efforts thereafter, for in early spring 1727, they were encouraged by the meeting to be more active. Thereafter the committee reported annually in the First Month of the year. From 1722 when Barnabas Starbuck left the island until 1725 when Thomas Macy was named treasurer, the visiting committee handled all financial matters. In addition they were concerned with education, and helped establish a so-called "cent" school where each child paid a small daily fee, and in addition the sale of one section of town lots went for the support of the schoolmaster. Not really a Quaker school, this institution founded in 1723 took the place of the Folger school subsidized by the town from its start in 1716. The Cent school was supplanted by Benjamin Coffin's school in 1731.

In 1723 the Visiting Committee saw to it that each of the 63 families, then in the meeting, received a copy of Elizabeth Jacob's Farewell Exhortation, a book printed after her return to her native Ireland after a trip in the ministry in Europe. Elizabeth (Head) Jacob, 1675-1739, of Limerick, never visited America, but was a close friend of Abigail (Craven) Bowles who was on Nantucket in 1726. She was also the author of a popular work, An Epistle in True Love, published in 1712. Here again is evidence of activity intended to innoculate against "dangerous" presbyterian ideas.

The visiting committee was active where wealth brought worldliness and where a change of residence brought a change of traditions, and were the coming of the

Puritan Church brought the whole problem of Church-State relations closer to the island. In 1723 the latter problem was underscored when the town of Dartmouth, badgered by the insistance of the Massachusetts General Court, that they hire a town preacher, proposed the name of Nathaniel Howland, a leading Friends minister. This exhausted the humor and patience of Boston's theocracy, and they promptly imprisoned the four Quaker tax collectors of both Dartmouth and Tiverton townships. Naturally a protest was lodged with the Royal Governor who transmitted the request to George II, King of Great Britain. The result was a missive which arrived by mid-summer of 1724 pardoning the prisoners, and cancelling the tax. Dartmouth Monthly Meeting meanwhile reissued, with the permission of the Yearly Meeting, an edition of Peter Folger's, Looking Glasse for the Times, which was as cogent in 1724 as it had been in 1676 against the persecuting actions of the Boston magistrates. Folger's literary effort has appeared since in print in 1763, in 1883 and in 1940. Still Boston did not give up her persecuting in 1724, as was evidenced by Nantucket Friends sending $600.00 in 1726 for the relief of Friends suffering religious tax distraints in New England, and by a further sum sent later that winter.

The anacronism of anti-Quaker laws operative in the 18th century was soon to come to an end, however. Exactly what part Nantucket played in the final release of Quakerism from the State Church of Massachusetts is obscure. At least the tax-free island was a standing reproach to the General Court. The arrival, however, on the island of a prominent delegation of the Massachusetts legislature in the summer of 1727 offered both the visiting committee and the morning meeting an unusual opportunity to point out the peaceful prosperity of their tithe-free community. The committee had come to investigate personally the allegations and complaints of the Indians that their cattle were stolen from them on the commons. Here was a continuation of the social evil which had been attacked unsuccessfully

by Stephen Hussey, and had moved Samuel Sewall, the diarist and Supreme Court Judge, to ask Jethro Starbuck's help in the matter in 1722. The Indian problem remained aggravated leading to an abortive Indian uprising in 1738. However, the importance of the Indian problem at this point is only that it allowed for pressure upon the Massachusetts officials to exempt all bona fide Friends (and Baptists incidentally) from religious taxes. This happened in Massachusetts in the spring of 1728, and a year later in Connecticut. Indeed a goal had been achieved. The king's missive of 1659 which stopped the hanging of Quakers on Boston Common was at last fulfilled spirit was well as in the letter. Well could the women's meeting record that the general meeting of 1728 on Nantucket had been "greatly favored by ye good presence of the Lord". And 1728 not only marked the end of Quaker persecution in Massachusetts, but it marked the threshold of adolescence for Nantucket Monthly Meeting of Friends. As for the town, 1728 marked the island as the outstanding whaling center in the whole wide world.

CHAPTER 8

"Now the extraordinary increase of Friends..."

1718-1728

All attempt to measure accurately the intellectual pursuits of the Nantucket body of Friends during the years when their expanding whaling monopoly brought them into wide Colonial contacts, must be abandoned in favor of suppositions that the Nantucket community mirrored at least partially the cultural levels of such centers as Philadelphia and Newport. The great body of sociological data having to do with early Nantucket perished very unfortunaltely in the conflagration of 1846. We are left consequently with three important conditions upon which to generalize. First, Quakerism, being essentially radical in both human relations, and in theology, naturally encouraged correspondingly vigorous interest in education. Second, Nantucket, playing the part of host to more than 70 visitors in the 1718-1728 period, entered vicariously into the enlarged horizon which travel alone brings. And third, the classical heritage, stemming from the work of Peter Folger and William Gayer was continued and enlarged through the interest of George Hussey and Benjamin Coffin.

The Quaker movement was education conscious from its inception. By 1695, London Yearly Meeting, could recommend that schools be set up by all meetings where children "can learn languages and other sciences and also some remunerative trade, or at least skill and industry which will contribute to their support and combat many of the temptations associated with idleness". William Penn, whose famous maxim that "True religion does not take a man out of the world but enables him to live better in it, and excites his endeavours to mind it," was particularly concerned that education should include "the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses, or ships, measuring, dialing, navigation; but agriculture especially..." Quaker insistence on the practical

rather than the classical humanist education current in the 18th century, led Friends earlier than most others into the sciences. Biology, especially botany, was popular, as a study of nature led easily to reverence for all life.

Novels, plays and much poetry was regarded as frivolous, unreal, and therefore to be avoided. One exception was made in favor of the Latin or Greek classics which were read rather widely in cultivated circles in Quaker centers. On Nantucket, Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck and George Hussey could manage a little Latin, while her nephew Benjamin Coffin became so adept in the dead language as to write letters in it and use it in his conversation with his children. Among his Latin books was one of the works of the great Moravian teacher Comenius. A Coffin cousin at Harvard started Benjamin on his teaching career.

If imagination was taboo, history, political science and philosophy were regularly read and discussed. Bishop George Berkeley, of epistomological fame, lived for a few years in the decade under question on Rhode Island, where the Quaker Wantons were among his closest associates. James Logan, Penn's deputy after Story returned to England, felt quite competent to criticize Berkeley and as well Locke and Hume. John Smith, the literary Friend of Burlington, who served as clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and visited Nantucket in later years, set out to decide a philosophical controversy then current between Jonathan Edwards and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Certainly the more intellectual Friends followed the deist controversy closely. It may even be said that the "Enlightenment" was brought to America through the medium of the private Quaker library. The first public library company in America was founded in Philadelphia by Quakers in 1733.

At least every Quaker home had its daily Bible reading, usually supplemented by Barclay's <u>Apology</u> or by the spiritual diaries of traveling

Friends. More often than not Quististic works of both Catholic and Protestant authors were available. In the larger Philadelphia libraries there was found the patristic writings of the church fathers, such as Augustine and Ambrose. Consequently the Quaker Community was able to view itself in relation to the whole stream of Christianity and to relate itself to history at large. The great measure of objectivity achieved in the 18th century was largely and unfortunately lost in the 19th century. A narrowing rigid discipline gradually excluded many of those who inherited and fostered a broad interest in the cultivation of the mind. A man like Nathaniel Starbuck who accompanied his more prominent guests as far as Newport or Boston could hardly have avoided adopting the broad outlook of his associates and in turn transmitting the perspective to others of the island.

Although no strictly Quaker school was set up on Nantucket till 1731, yet in 1711 the Yearly Meeting had requested that all Quaker families train their children in George Fox's primer, (a grammar which the founder of the Society had written), as well as in his catechism. Before 1728 the following ~~additional~~ Friends had produced primers in addition to Fox: John Perrot (the separatist), Stephen Crisp, George Fox, "the younger", Daniel Pastorius, William Thompson and John Chambers. How many imprints of these authors reached Nantucket is not known, though probably only a few. Coffin used the Childs Weeks-work published in 1712 in his school; later he adopted A New Guide to the English Tongue. Neither of these appear to have been Quaker items. At least a sound elementary education was available for the children. Upon that education was built an advanced study either in navigation and its allied practical subjects for most of the boys of the community, or a Latin classics preparation for the few who chose not to go to sea.

In a wider sense the very discipline of the Quaker community with its queries and advices, its visiting committees and epistolary correspondence served as educational devices. That such education was effective is

corraborated by the expansion of the meeting in the decade under consideration.

Samuel Bownas writing in 1727, observed, "Now the extraordinary increase of Friends is much attributed to the youth retaining the profession of their parents, and marrying such..." Speaking of the Society in America in the generation between his two visits he wrote, "most of the meetinghouses [are] very much enlarged, some to hold double, some treble, some four times the people that the old ones would...and even now some wanted to be enlarged, or new ones built at proper distances." Quite evidently other than the intellectual interests of the leading Friends accounted for the mushroom growth. Yet Bownas himself "preached with such a divine authority and majestic innocence, as commanded the attention of his hearers". At least three factors were operative to account for the rapid expansion. First, men like Bownas, who counselled the Society at large, understood Quakerism as a movement within the Christian Church, oriented toward specific distinct goals. Second, such leadership was primarily motivated by spiritual commitment, rather than by intellectual understanding. Third, given the domestic rural pattern of colonial life and given the respectable intellectuality and transparent religious drive of the Quaker leadership there was evoked from the candid youth of each succeeding generation an affirmative response to the religion of the Inward Light. In relation to Bownas' observation, Nantucket only exceed the normal growth of Quakerism in other places by the fact of its recent origin. Probably the Quaker membership had tripled in America between 1698 and 1728. If such was the case the Society had grown to about 40,000 persons. New England Yearly Meeting according to such figures had enlarged from about 3,000 to 9,000 adherents. In the year 1713, Nantucket monthly meeting included 107 members. According to the proportions of a Quarterly Meeting financial levy laid upon the constituent Monthly Meetings in that year, Dartmouth and Greenwich numbered about 340 members each, while

Rhode Island Monthly Meeting counted 840. A total Quarterly Meeting membership of 1,725 persons is thus indicated. Consequently it is wise to suggest that the general growth in New England must have been much less favorable than elsewhere. In 1727, Bownas listed places in which he found recent meetinghouses constructed. His enumeration suggests that the really large Quaker growth occurred in the middle colonies. In New England, Bownas visited twelve new meetinghouse localities, nine in New York, thirty in the Philadelphia area, nine in Virginia and three in North Carolina. A compilation of the monthly meetings which were founded in the years between 1700 and 1718 reveal that 60% of the new disciplinary units were located within the area of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The only new meeting in New England, for example, in addition to Nantucket, was Providence, Rhode Island, set off from Greenwich in 1718.

The Nantucket growth from 1718 to 1728 is impressive, enlarging from 136 members to 316, doubling at least six times its original constituency. Seventy-five adult members were added to the earlier group of sixty-five mature adherents already discussed. Obviously the new converts cannot be treated as fully as their predecessors. As each decade comes to view we face a more impossible task. A mushrooming membership prevents adequate biographical notices. At least in this chapter, the more important personnel may be observed.

In decided contrast to the preceeding decade, a good proportion of the Quaker marriages between 1718 and 1728, were contracted with off-islanders. Obviously the expanding whaling industry offers sufficient explanation. The first of this character were the two Worth brothers, William and Joseph, brothers of Judith Macy, who joined in 1718 and 1721 respectively. William, a cooper, was married out of meeting to a member of the wealthiest family on Martha's Vineyard to one of the Butlers. Joseph was married in meeting to a

Barnstable Quakeress, a Gorham, a niece of Elizabeth Gorham of Boston. William's family, at least were recipients of educational opportunities more extensive than was characteristic of most Nantucket families. Next in 1718 Paul Starbuck, the "crown prince", trained as sheep herder, window setter, and whaler, married his cousin Ann Tibbetts of Dover, New Hampshire, daughter of Rose Tibbetts and granddaughter of Sarah Austin. It was well for the Starbuck hier to look elsewhere than on the island for a help-mate. Apparently Nantucket suited the Tibbetts family as Ann's sister Mary came onto the island in 1726 as the bride of Matthew Barnard, son of Sarah (Macy) Barnard and in his own right a able whaling captain. Much more than Ann, Mary identified herself with the life of Nantucket Meeting as elder and marriage counsellor. It should be observed that Sarah Barnard, Matthew's mother joined Friends in 1718 where with her Macy brothers, she served as a bulwark in the meeting. A third 1718 union was that made between a daughter of miller John Folger and Samuel Barker, born a Scituate Friend, but more recently of Rhode Island. Inheriting land at Woods Hole from his grandfather John Wing, a leading Friend of Sandwich, Samuel made his home at the former locality, where his household was the principal hostel at which traveling Friends stopped in route to Nantucket and back. Never a consistent Friend, Barker kept slaves to ease his wife's extensive housekeeping. As the meeting grew in wealth, it kept money on account with Friend Samuel, and with Dartmouth Friends to secure transportation of visitors to the island. Originally Dartmouth handled such subsidies. We have record of $20.00 so appropriated in the spring of 1709. To recur to Barker for a moment, he was nephew to William Barker, the 1708 Yearly Meeting Committee member. The fourth 1718 off-island union was that between Solomon Coleman and Deliverance Swett treated in an earlier chapter.

Still another connection had its inception in the decisive year of 1718 when Richard Estes a prominent Friends minister of Lynn visited on Nantucket, bringing with him his young son Benjamin. A year later the youth married a

daughter of Sarah (Skiff) Long. He had come from Mendon, Massachusetts, where he was apprenticed to kinsfolks, and was thus transferred to Nantucket from Providence Monthly Meeting. Six years later Benjamin took his growing family to Scituate to live, and eventually he was to be found in Lynn, his birthplace. Estes was unique in his departure from the boom town.

A sixth off-island wedding involved a certain William Clasby of Kingwood Monthly Meeting in old England, who presented the first formal certificate of transfer into Nantucket meeting in 1719. Quite possibly he had heard of the economic opportunity on Nantucket from visiting English Friends . At any rate he married a sister of Mary (Gardner) Jenkins before the year was out. Clasby became an able whaler and eventually an elder in the meeting. The seventh off-island wedding brought to Nantucket George Brown, brick-mason, hitherto ~~of~~ Newport and brother incidentally to Tabatha Frost's first husband, the pirate, and George married her sister Abigail Trott, almost as it were to make amends for the unsatisfactory situation. The first clay pits for making brick on Nantucket were opened in 1720, managed by ~~Bowmas~~ Brown and financed by his one-time Newport partner, Samuel Barker. Parenthetically, it may be observed that Nantucket procured its second physician from Newport in the year 1722, when Dr. Pattison, a non-Friend settled on the island. The first doctor was Dr. Brown, coincidentally the first husband of Tabatha Frost. The eighth off-island marriage was effected between Barnabas Gardner, son of James Gardner, and a Boston girl by the name of Wheeler, apparently out of meeting. Unfortunately nothing is known of her background.

In 1720 occurred a union which in its largest sense can be considered as falling into the off-island category. In this case miller John Folger's son Shubael married a daughter of Thomas and Mary Clark, until recently of Plymouth. It happened that Mary Clark, herself, was very poorly, and she was laid away in her grave in a year or so. Subsequently in 1723, Thomas Clark remarried. This time his wife was a Nantucket widow, a sister of Dinah Starbuck.

The eleventh union brought to Nantucket in 1721 a daughter of Elizabeth Gorham of Boston, to marry Andrew Gardner, son of the late Captain Nathaniel. Apparently off-island cousins kept a close contact with the island base. The fact that the bride's parents, had just removed to Barnstable on Cape Cod, which was the Gorham headquarters, probably facilitated her friendship with the young blacksmith, Andrew Gardner. Still another of Elizabeth Gorham's daughters chose Nantucket as her home when in 1726 she was married to Daniel Paddock, a grandson of the whaling pioneer, whose family had purchased the so-called oldest house from the Coffin family. The Paddocks, had, it will be recalled, originated in Barnstable also. Despite Andrew Gardner's violent tempers and taciturn manner, Mary (Gorham) Gardner achieved great weight as an elder. On the other hand Susanna (Gorham) Paddock showed little active on executive concern. In the latter case, the recent convincement of Daniel Paddock's mother, Anne (Bunker) Paddock, a vigorous sister of Jabez Bunker, probably drew her family into the Quaker orbit. The year 1721 also witnessed an extraordinary case of Quaker dealing when a certain Joseph Mott of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting married Lucretia Coffin, a non-Quaker niece of miller Samuel, out of meeting. Evidently Joseph and Lucretia wanted to settle as members in good standing in Newport, from which town he had probably gone to seek his fortunes in Philadelphia. In order for him to be properly accepted as a Newport Friend, Philadelphia Monthly meeting forced him to apologize to Nantucket Monthly Meeting for his non-Quaker ceremony, held in that town. Subsequently his cleared certificate of transfer was posted to Newport. It would be unthinkable today for such disciplinary cooperation to be undertaken by the present Philadelphia, Rhode Island and Nantucket Monthly Meetings. But in 1721, the Society was a remarkably well integrated organization to say the least.

In 1722 another Newport Friend, a tailor named Benjamin Barney settled on the island by marrying Lydia Starbuck, a daughter of the women's clerk.

Grandson of the founder of the First Baptist Church in Boston, Barney was one of those who raised the intellectual horizon of the island. Turning to merchandizing in connection with equipping whalers he served after the death of Thomas Hathaway, as the chief link with the Newport merchants. And in the area of Quaker concern, he became one of the most responsible of counsellors, and a much beloved minister. His wife also was a gifted minister. Then in 1727 a brother of Benjamin Barney named Jacob married the eldest daughter of Benjamin Barnard, Jr., and step-daughter of Judith Wilcox. Thereby was strengthened the mercantile link between Nantucket and Newport. Thi s woman Dorcas (Barnard) Barney was the first of a member of Nantucket women who became gracious hostesses in the cultivated circle of Newport Quakerism. Her house was always open to the representatives named to Quarterly and Yearly Meeting.

A fifteenth off-island marriage during the decade under question occurred in 1724 when Philip Pollard, a native of Exeter in Devonshire in old England took as wife Mehitabel Gardner, daughter of James Gardner. Both were gifted and zealous for the cause of Quakerism, though there came a time when Philip was threatened with disownment for disagreeing with the dominant minority in the meeting. He was the third recently emigrated Englishman in the Nantucket Society of Friends, the others being Matthew Jenkins and William Clasby.

There is still left one additional off-island alliance. In this case the facts parallel that of the Estes-Long union. It seems that Samuel Gaskell, a minister of Salem meeting visited the island in 1714 and in 1724. On the latter journey he brought along a daughter, who within the year married Nathaniel Allen, a grandson of Joseph Coleman. It seems the Allens were among those Dover, New Hampshire, people who fled to Nantucket to get away from the terrorism of King Philip's war. Through his grandmother, Nathaniel

was also a Bunker. As for Nathaniel's bride, she was of the martyr Southwick stock, who had suffered side by side with the Shattucks in Salem. More concerned than her husband, she died in 1730, and he soon remarried out of meeting. The last family of off-islanders were George and Mary (Stannel) Newbegin whose origins are obscure. They were recorded members in 1727, though he had been before the courts for brawling with Andrew Gardner, the temperamental blacksmith. In this case, Newbegin was acquitted. Whatever their background, they brought to the island a strain of peculiarity which has become one of the popular legends of Nantucket.

We find by way of summary that there were 20 such off-island marriage connection, two of which did not permanently affect the Nantucket community. The men came as follows: two from England, one from Plymouth, one from Mendon, and five from Newport. And the women derived from a widely scattered points: Martha's Vineyard, one; Barnstable, three; Plymouth, one; Salem, one; ~~and~~ Amesbury, one; and Dover, two. New surnames added to the roster of Nantucket Quakers included: Worth, Barker, Estes, Clasby, Paddock, Barney, Pollard, Allen and Newbegin. Such evidence indicates Nantucket to have been in the process of rapid expansion in the years from 1718 to 1728.

It might be useful to pause before obserrving further family growth on the island, to notice what outside issues were naturally brought to the attention of Nantucketers, as the eighteen strangers came to live in their midst. Those were the years of King George I, the "foreign" king, and of bursting of the South Sea Bubble which ruined so many investors in England. At the end of the period George II was crowned. As a result of the dislocated economic condition Pennsylvania issued paper money, which proved sound in contrast to the Massachusetts issues of the time. There also appeared in Philadelphia, the first of a series of Quaker economists in the figure of Francis Rawle, who advocated subsidy to agriculture and a major reform in

mercantilism. In Massachusetts the economic insecurity was marked by grants of $2,500,000.00 in paper money in 1721, and second issue of $3,000,000.00 in 1728. Thereafter conditions stablized. But meanwhile the very unstable government of Colonel Shute in Boston resulted in his departure for England in 1723. For the next five years William Dummer, a colonist, acted as governor, while tensions relaxed. He was succeeded unfortunately, by an incompetent dilettante, William Burnett, at the end of the period.

Boston was upset in 1718 by the great influx of Scots-Irish, who were rapidly pushed out to Worchester, to Pelham or up to Portland, Maine. In the midst of the unfriendly reception, the Puritans agreed to cooperate in the ordination of Baptist divines, which surely indicated that social class had taken precedence over the religious sense of fellowship with poverty-stricken fellow-calvinists. The only other large influx of foreigners till this time were the French Huguenots who came after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The Bowdoins, Fanueils, and Reveres were respected members of this grouping. Not until the 1750's was there to be further in-flooding. At that time it would be Germans who immigrated, Southward, of course, Palatinate Germans had arrived in large numbers in 1711.

Worldliness was creeping into Boston. In 1719 an act was passed against dueling, and in 1728 it was ordered that each person killed while dueling have a stake driven through his heart. So much was spent on elaborate funerals that expenses were limited in 1724, and funerals forbidden on the "Lord's Day" in 1727. Even then Governor Burnet's funeral in 1730 cost $55,086.00. Puppet shows appeared in 1732 as an opening wedge for the theatre. Nonetheless Increase Mather's 1714 book Plain, Discourse Showing Who Shall and Who Shall not enter Heaven kept the generality of people in an austere path. On the other hand, public concerts of non-liturgical music began in 1730. And Mother Goose's Melodies, printed in 1719 had great popularity. The newspapers

of the day included the New England Courant which ran from 1721 to 1727 edited by James Franklin, Peter Folger's grandson, and the Boston Gazette, 1719-1727 which with the Courant was merged into the New England Weekly. In 1733 a rival newspaper appeared in the Boston Weekly Post. Nantucket very probably read their rather uninspired pages.

Northward in addition to the cod-fishery, after the Abanaki War closed, the Wentworth family of New Hampshire developed a white pine logging industry which foreshadowed our great northwest. Removal of all duties on lumber imported to England after 1722 speeded the Wentworth monopoly. In Massachusetts itself after 1718 pig iron was allowed to be exported duty free to England. Consequently a new and vigorous surface iron mining industry arose. By 1736 Massachusetts had a monopoly of the trade, while at Symmesbury, Connecticut, after 1709 was to be found a flourishing lead mining development. Maryland which had started the iron industry in 1715 was outdone. In 1711 the postal system had gone on an imperial basis, and by 1722 an overland route had been developed between Boston and Providence. As far as boat-building was concerned in 1725 there was launched at New London a vessel of 700 tons. Nantucket herself built a schooner named Dolphin two years before. Sails were also more secure after 1720 as duck made from flax proved to be most durable.

Southward in Rhode Island, the government was moving steadily toward exclusiveness. In 1725 it was legislated that only persons owning $5,000.00 worth of land could vote. The State Bank which was established in 1715 and which handled paper money, naturally favored the financial classes. Governor John Wanton, the ex-soldier, who wore a scarlet cloak trimmed with blue, was the chief political figure of the age, a figure who typified the inconsistant Quakerism of Rhode Island. In 1719 the state passed a stringent anti-Catholic law, strange fruit of Quaker toleration. And remarkably enough in 1722 Quaker Pennsylvania approved the most stringent penal code in America.

In the religious world the Presbyterians had been spreading in the middle colonies and in 1709 they entered into a union with the State Church of Connecticut. In North Jersey the first manifestations of the American frontier revival had appeared in 1719 in the Dutch Reformed Church. And in Massachusetts there was much agitation over the liberal sentiments of the Reverend Mr. Wise of Ipswich. While in Boston in 1722 the old north church was established from Kings Chapel as the second Episcopolian Church in the colony. At Guilford, Connecticut, the first spire as such appeared on a puritan church in 1720. There was none on the Nantucket structure of 1725, nor on that built in Edgartown for Mayhew's church in 1719. New Friend's Meetinghouses in southern Massachusetts included that built at South Yarmouth in 1714 and in Falmouth in 1720. Incidentally the town of Yarmouth pioneered in granted exemption to Quakers from tithes in 1717. In 1727 the Apponegansett Meetinghouse was enlarged. AT THE SAME TIME ~~Meanwhile~~ Dartmouth Meeting had been exercised because one of its families were captured by Indians and held for ransom in 1724. In 1722 Dartmouth established its own Quaker school, with Deliverance Smith, the one time arrested tax collector, as teacher. Such at least were the events which attracted a measure of attention off-island.

Meanwhile on the island a chain of political and economic events were set in motion by the death in 1719 of the patriarch Nathaniel Starbuck, Sr. Two prominent English women Friends were present as it happened to preach at his funeral. They were sisters-in-law Elizabeth (Beck) Rowlinson and Lydia (Rowlinson) Lancaster. Both were of Lancashire in northern England. Subsequently the probating of Starbuck's will revealed that the land settlement of 1717, having been carried out under great pressure of time. was faulty. "Butts and bounds" were insecure and consequently 120 properties held in fee simple were resurveyed and the findings entered into the Proprietors' record book. Then in 1723 to evict squatters, Treasurer Thomas

Macy, Captain Silvanus Hussey and lawyer George Hussey were named. And as they lost their case, an appeal was transmitted to Boston. Apparently arbitration was then successfully carried out, as the prosecutors were ordered to pay court costs in 1725 in place of suit. Then for almost fifteen years an era of domestic peace was entered upon, certainly in marked contrast to the litigation which had afflicted the town for twenty years before. Not that these weren't social problems needing attention. Among the more outstanding were those having to do with alcohol, and financial investments.

In 1721 the first tavern was licensed on Nantucket, run by a non-Friend, but bonded by Thomas Macy. Whether or not an increase in alcoholic intake followed is unknown, though Nathaniel Allen was before the court for drunkenness in 1731. And a certain non-Friend, a woman was arrested for keeping an unlicensed "tipling house" the same year. In 1722 a grand jury indicted one non-Friend for striking another. And in 1727 Stephen Coffin, Sr. had his nephew Peter Coffin, the one important non-Quaker whaler, in court, for threatening to "knock out his brains & c". It may be presumed that property was the bone of contention at this point. Quaker arbitration methods prevailed, and the case was settled out of court. On another occasion in 1723 the problem was that someone turned all the prisoners loose from the jail. Most were Indians up for stealing goods, rather naturally. Four years later Dorcas, Matthew Jenkins' Indian servant girl was convicted of the crime. That same year, a stranger was apprehended, a certain John Sanders, who was absconding, having defrauded Experience Coffin and Captain Silvanus Hussey among others. So with the increase of wealth and concentration of population, the courts naturally reflected growing social problems.

Among the forehanded steps taken to keep control of the social situation were the further marriages encouraged by the Starbuck clan. Several we have noticed already. Subsequent to Paul's advantageous union with his second

cousin, the clerk married his ablest daughter Hephzibah in 1723 to the widower, Captain Silvanus Hussey, head of the Nantucket whaling fleet. Silvanus became later chief elder, and his wife the outstanding woman minister of her generation. With his next daughter, Abigail, the clerk was not so fortunate. In 1724 she eloped with Thomas Howes III, son of the defiant Abigail Marshall, who incidentally was before the courts in 1730 for selling rum to the Indians illegally. In the case of Abigail and Thomas, there was a child expected, and speed was of the essence. Two years later Abigail submitted a written apology for her conduct, and Thomas was accepted as a member in good standing.

A somewhat similar case involved his cousin Theodate Hussey who was disowned one month and readmitted the next in the winter of 1721-2, when fornication was the charge against her. A penetent spirit won her forgiveness. Like many of her family, she continued on an uncertain course, having been fined along with her aunt, and for the same reason in 1730. Her marriage out of meeting in 1726 did not help matters. Her husband was a stranger named Johnson.

Returning to the Starbuck clan we find that four of the women's clerk's children married, William and Lydia, the two ministers have been noticed already. Eunice was married to a whaler named Daniel Pinkham, brother of Shubael in the spring of 1725. No children were born to this union. Thomas, the ablest businessman of the family wed Rachel Allen, a sister of Nathaniel, in 1726. Neither union was of great significance for the Society of Friends. Of much greater interest, however, was the wedding of their cousin Elihu Coleman, builder of the now famous house(as a hostel for visiting Friends.) His bride was Jemina Barnard, daughter of Sarah (Macy) Barnard. Like his brother Nathaniel, Elihu was to be recorded in the ministry before many years, and to develop a significant stand in the slavery controversy. No others of Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman's children married in the decade under scrutiny.

As for the Coffin family, largest on the island, they contributed Captain Richard Coffin a nephew of Dinah Starbuck and grandson of Sarah Gardner through his mother. He was married out of meeting to a sister of Aligail (Bunker) Rinkham, (Shubael's wife), and she probably drew him among Friends, as his family were otherwise pro-puritan. They affiliated with the meeting in 1719, In 1722 Dorcas Starbuck's only sister Damaris (Gayer) Coffin came among Friends, which no doubt had its effect on her school-teacher son, Benjamin Coffin, who married Jedidah Hussey, daughter of Batchellor, she having been the first birthright Friend of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. In 1726 a generation had run through its full cycle. Rueben, their eldest, started a second generation of full fledged Nantucket Quakers in 1727.

About the time of the death of the politician Stephen Coffin, Jr., in 1725 his son Zephaniah Coffin married Miriam Macy, daughter of John Macy, Jr. In this marriage was developed the economic stability for future monopoly enterprise, which failed so thoroughly in his brother Shubael's mis-marriage. Zephaniah Coffin established a coordinate enterprise of the Starbuck mono-poly. In 1726 Zephaniah's sister Hephzibah Coffin married Robert Barnard, son of Sarah (Macy) Barnard, and like his mother, a gifted elder in the Society of Friends on Nantucket. It appears that that branch of the Barnard family which married into the Macys achieved social status to the extent that they subsequently married only into the controlling family circle of Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., Dorcas Starbuck, Priscilla Coleman, Judith Wilcox and Stephen Coffin, Jr. The last marriage of the Coffin family during the 1718-1728 period was a tragedy. Miller Samuel's daughter, Parnell Coffin, married in 1727 a Congregational Coffin cousin out of meeting. She died within the year in childbirth.

A very important wedding took place in 1721 when Abigail Folger,

daughter of Miller John, was united to her cousin-once-removed Captain Daniel Folger, son of Judith Wilcox. Theirs was the first wedding undertaken by the meeting at the time when the bride knew she was pregnant. Very profuse apologies were consequently the order of the day a year later. Their children seem to have been recipients of a double portion of Folger unorthodoxy, and at least one of them achieved great notority as the revolutionary smuggler known as "Mirian Coffin". That blacksmith Daniel Folger was an inconsistent Friend is corraborated by his going to law in 1726 with his fellow members Thomas Macy and Captain Ebenezer Gardner over whaling share investments.

Once again attention is focused on the "holding company" managed by Judith Wilcox. Keziah was currently the wife of Jethro Gardner, but would marry Paul Starbuck after Ann's death. Anna was minister William Starbuck's bride. Daniel has just been noticed. And Mary was about to wed Captain Nathaniel Gardner's namesake, Nathaniel Gardner III. In 1722-3 young Nathaniel proposed marriage with his multiple double cousin Jemina Coffin, sister of the late Eunice Gardner, and ward of Jethro Starbuck, her uncle. Apparently the marriage prohibitions, because of nearness of kinship, which had been received a few months earlier, were invoked to stop the marriage inquiries and the wedding. At any rate in 1725 the same Nathaniel Gardner III passed meeting and married Mary Folger. The young heir lived only two years. He was a house carpenter, and may very possibly have fallen to his death. And Mary subsequently married Nathaniel Coleman, the minister.

Though none of Judith Wilcox's children by Nathaniel Barnard married in the years under consideration, her brother-in-law Ebenezer Barnard and his wife Mary (Hussey) Worth— Barnard joined meeting in 1723. She was a daughter of Stephen Hussey, a woman who seemed to inherit his good qualities without the bad ones. Her first husband was a non-Quaker brother of the Quaker Worths. In years to come she served as a valued elder in the Society.

Then in 1724, Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, the matriarch died, aged 92. She left 104 descendants in the meeting, actually 43% of the total membership. Through no particular virtue of her own, the old adage was proved true that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. Her descendants were to be found in the following Quaker families in 1724: the Bunkers, the Barnards, the Folgers, the Pollards, the Coffins, the Jenkins, the Clasbys, the Starbucks, the Macys, the Colemans, the Worths, and of course, the Gardners. Nantucket Quakerism viewed from the funeral of the second Friend to live on the island appears to be grounded in a much wider basic influence than that of Mary Starbuck alone. Indeed without the Shattuck heritage it is doubtful that Nantucket could have become so quickly and thoroughly indoctrinated with the Quaker viewpoint. Neither the Husseys nor the Swains offered the support to Starbuck insight which the Gardners were in a position to give.

As it happened both the Husseys and the Swains contributed one new member each in the years from 1718 to 1728. The Hussey was the able elder Mary Barnard. The Swain was Caleb, a grandson of the late minister John Swain. His mother was an off-islander. Caleb married Margaret Paddock, a cousin of Daniel Paddock. Apparently Caleb was irresponsible and a poor provider as subsequent events proved. His cousin William Swain, of not too savory reputation either, married in 1727 a few months after Caleb, when his bride was the same Jemina Coffin who had been refused marriage with Nathaniel Gardner III. It proved a good match for Jemina settled William on a steady course. Two other Paddock weddings should claim our attention. It seems that Eliphabet Paddock, a whaler and brother to Margaret (Paddock) Swain was married, also in 1726, to Naomi Bunker, eldest daughter of Jabez Bunker. And in 1728 Deborah Paddock cousin to Eliphabet and sister to Daniel, was married to Theophilus Pinkham, brother of Shubael. In no one of these four families was the Quaker element outstanding.

There remains one last family of the 1718-1728 decade to be noticed; a son of James Gardner, in fact the last of his family to embrace the Quaker way of life. He was Jonathan Gardner who had married a sister of Abigail (Bunker) Pinkham (Shubael's wife) out of meeting. Again the gain for the meeting was not unusual. They became Quakers in 1724.

Despite the establishment of the rival Religious Society, the Friends Meeting drew to itself a steadily increasing portion of the population. About 50 persons joined the meeting as adults between 1718 and 1728, and at least 130 children were born into the Quaker community. Losses counted five transfers elsewhere and twelve deaths. The gross complement, including visitors, topped the 400 mark. There was no question that the transition had been made from a village still nostalgic over its founders to a boom town, with a vigorous ecclesiastical organization, each conscious in its own way of its place in the sun.

Our current chapter opened with consideration of the educational level and cultural interests of the Nantucket Friend in the beginning years of the whaling boom. Our chapter closes appropriately with some account of Quarterly Meeting connections in Newport, and especially significant visiting Friends. Nantucketers appointed to attend Quarterly Meeting included: Jethro Starbuck, John Macy, Jr., Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., Stephen Coffin, Jr., Nathaniel Coleman, Batchellor Hussey, Stephen Wilcox and William Clasby. The list is more diversified than that of the preceding decade, though the business taken up appears to have been of much less consequence. John Macy, Jr., Batchellor Hussey and Nathaniel Coleman tended to replace the clerk in attendance at Newport. The clerk, however, still represented Nantucket at Yearly Meeting, though he missed sessions in 1724, 1727, and 1728. Housing at Newport was eased by the last testaments of Governor Benedict Arnold and Gideon Freeborn among others who left endowed beds and horses for the travel of public Friends.

Nantucket showed interest in Friends off-island by contributing to the building of a meetinghouse in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1725. A similar second contribution was sent off a year later, when the travelers fund was deposited with Dartmouth Friends. Then in 1727, $750.00 was sent to Thomas Hathaway, as his house and furnishings had gone up in flames. And there were of course the two contributions to the sufferings of Friends under the Massachusetts tithe laws.

Unfortunately none of the Friends visiting Nantucket between 1718 and 1728 kept journals at least journals which have come to light. On one occasion, however, we have the reaction of Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., who wrote in 1722:

> "our Friend Lydia (Norton of Amesbury Monthly Meeting) was furnish'd with a large stock and carried on pretty well to good and General satisfaction behav'd modestly and Grave So yt I think it was of Good Service--and likewise Rose (Tibbetts) had good Service--also our frd. Moses (Aldredge of Mendon) I thought exceeded whatever I had heard him before---"

These were among the visitors "dropping in" for Nantucket General Meeting in Fourth Month. They included, incidentally, Elizabeth Gorham of Barnstable. Lydia Norton, "a living minister" appears to have been a close friend of Rose Tibbetts. She was on Nantucket first in 1716, and again in 1725. Moses Aldredge was a young Friend en route to Barbadoes, just beginning a distinguished public Friend's career.

Two years before, the same Nathaniel Howland, whose arrest brought about the second king's missive, visited Nantucket, reminding them that in pre-Quaker Dartmouth his father had been scalped during King Philip's War. Further Indian connections were supplied when Mary Dow of Dover, New Hampshire, appeared in 1728 to describe the horrors of the Indian captivity which she had safely endured. A third Friend whose life had been altered by Indian activity was Rose Tibbetts brother, Nicholas Austin, who

moved away from Dover and the Abanaki War, to Abington, Pennsylvania, where his descendants were the first of the Starbucks born in the middle colonies. Austin visited in 1719, the year before his removal, and in 1720. Others of the Starbuck cousins to visit were his nephew Ephriam Tibbetts, Jr., who came in 1723 and Sarah Varney of Dover in 1727. She was descended of Edward Starbuck's youngest daughter.

In 1722 came two rather prominent Friends. One was Robert Jordan, Jr., of Tidewater, Virginia, who was convinced under the preaching of Lydia Lancaster and Elizabeth Rowlinson, the two attenders at Nathaniel Starbuck's funeral. He was then engaged in a losing fight with the Virginia legislature over tithes, and later moved to Philadelphia. Jordan's memorial issued in 1742 records that: "His ministry being convincing, and conciliatory, his delivery graceful but unaffected: in prayer he was solemn and reverent, he delighted in meditation recommending by example, religious retirement in his familiar visits among his friends...." His visit brings to mind James Bates his neighbor of Williamsburg, then the Virginia capital, Bates was Richardson's companion in 1702. As far as we know these were the only Virginians to reach Nantucket before 1728. They were members of Upper Virginia Monthly Meeting. Only one Carolina Friend reached Nantucket before 1728. He was Thomas Peirce of Perquimons Monthly Meeting, evidently a leader of the Society in that section. His visit occurred in 1716.

Richard Jordan's companion in 1722 was John Kinsey, Jr., a member of the New Jersey legislature, and governor's council. He had been on Nantucket in 1703 when Story recorded: "He was instrumental in promoting the Quakers among (Nantucketers)". Kinsey's father founded Burlington, New Jersey, and his son was the famous Pennsylvania Chief Justice and Yearly Meeting Clerk in the mid-18th century. Interestingly Kinsey's companion in 1703 had been John Hussey, a brother of Stephen, and a man who moved to

New Castle, Delaware, to escape fines for not attended Puritan worship in Amesbury, Massachusetts. The middle colony Husseys are descended of him and Rebecca Hussey. And John Hussey returned for a second Nantucket visit in 1723. In that year he was a fellow member in Woodbridge Monthly Meeting of North Jersey, with John Kinsey, Jr.

In 1724 Nantucket entertained members of the outstanding family of New England Quakerism in the figures of Hannah (Clarke) Rodman, and her two children Dr. Clarke Rodman and Patience Rodman. Their father was Dr. Thomas Rodman, first clerk of New England Yearly Meeting, a surgeon who had migrated from Barbadoes. Their mother was a daughter of Governor Walter Clarke, who was on Nantucket in 1701. One other of the family had been on the island in 1715 when Anne (Rodman) Richardson the clerk's sister had visited. Their companion was Daniel Gould Jr., who father had written the able anti-puritan piece entitled New England judged in the Spirit of the Lord. Dr. Clarke Rodman has left us a tradition of laconic speaking in a bit of doggerel which attaches to his name as follows: "A man of words and not of deeds is like a garden full of weeds." It might be well to observe here that Jacob Mott, Jr., after his father's death in 1712 continued in his frequent visits to Nantucket, having married Mary, daughter of Governor John Easton. The Peleg Slocumbs likewise continued faithful.

Later in 1724 John Bownas, Jr., son of the founder of Flushing Meeting, and John Wing, Jr., son of the founder of Sandwich (in cooperation with Christopher Holder) paid their respects to Nantucket, and Governor John Wanton(of the scarlet cloak)of Rhode Island appeared in 1718 and 1725. And in 1726 there also came John Tucker, one of the founding fathers of Dartmouth, in whose residence built in 1720 his descendants still live, keeping it the heart of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting of Friends. Like Peleg Slocumb he had suffered losses to the Mayhews from tithe distraints on his sheep pastured on the Elizabeth Islands. Six sheep valued at $416.00 were taken

to pay a tax of $106.00.

In the summer of 1725 two young women Friends made an extended visit having just returned from Barbadoes. They were present at the wedding of Nathaniel Gardner III and Mary Folger where they preached. Elizabeth (Reed) Levis was of English origin, then a member of Newark Monthly Meeting, where she was one of the first temperance advocates in America. Of Jane Fenn she wrote "She was no busybody. We meddled not in other people's concerns either in or out of meeting." Jane was convinced under the preaching of Elizabeth Levis in 1714, and left the Anglican Church. She had also been raised in the old country. Jane became an indentured school-teacher at Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, and then attached herself to the household of Chief Justice David and Grace Lloyd as a servant girl. Eventually she married Joseph Haskins of Chester Meeting. We will find her again on Nantucket in a signigicant role years later. Incidentally Grace Lloyd visited Nantucket in 1726 when she was companion to Abigail Bowles, the Irish Friend hitherto noticed. After their return to Philadelphia, Jane Fenn accompanied Abigail back to her native Irish home in Woodhouse where she eventually married a man named Watson. About 50 English and Irish Friends reached America between 1698 and 1728, of whom three-quarters reached Nantucket. Nearly all the 20 American ministers who went to Europe in the same period also included the town of Sherbourne on their itineraries. The proportions are impressive.

The women's meeting on Nantucket occasionally asked visiting Friends how they found things on the island. The question put to Susannah Freeborn and her companions in 1713 was answered "reasonably well." The answer may also be taken as characteristic of the visitors' impressions between 1718 and 1728. And from the quality which a sampling of the visitors demonstrates,

it may be assumed they brought to Nantucket the wide awareness needed in every intellectually alert community. Nantucket stood ready in 1728 to take advantage of the ten years of unbroken peace and prosperity which lay in the immediate future.

CHAPTER 9

"Era of Peace and Prosperity in Zion"

1728-1738

With its disciplinary pattern established, Nantucket Quakerism was prepared to face and solve a major financial problem. Without a doubt, the remarkable prosperity of the ten years preceeding the outbreak of the conflict which came to be known as the War of the Austrian Succession, afforded hitherto undreamed-of wealth, and therefor confidence in relation to new challenges.

The facts were simple. By 1729 a rapidly growing membership had already surpassed the seating capacity of the meetinghouse which had been enlarged in 1716, though probably those absent whaling, allowed for space for ~~all~~ Most attenders on ~~most~~ First and Fifth days. Whereas master carpenter Elihu Coleman had received $900.00 in the summer of 1728 for the repair of the old house, in the fall of 1730, Nantucket Friends turned down the request of Greenwich Monthly Meeting, Rhode Island, for assistance in financing a meetinghouse at Meshanticut as "we are about to build one for ourselves."

Already it was evident that the location of the new structure would have to be near the Great Harbor. Preparatory to withdrawal from the old site in the winter of 1728-1729, Jethro Starbuck and Richard Macy were asked to fence in the original burying ground. Parenthetically there were no gravestones in this yard, pursuant to a Quarterly Meeting advice of 1712. The actual official decision to build a new meetinghouse was made in the winter of 1730-31 as they said, "for publick worship on Truth's account." The committee chosen to view possible sites included those Friends who had fenced the old graveyard, and in addition Batchellor and Silvanus Hussey, John Macy, Jr., Jabez Bunker and Jethro Folger, an excellent cross-section of the best Nantucket Quakerism had to offer. Friends felt confident. The year's whaling done in 25 sloops had brought in $350.00 gross per ton of whale oil

taken . When the net receipts were finally counted the industry had brought $160,000.00 to the island, a truly astounding profit. Surely even a large meetinghouse could be financed. And certainly it would have been a large structure. In 1731 a new Indian meetinghouse was put up, further evidence of the expanding prosperity of the day. We discover that Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., was a heavy contribution to the subscription for same. Quaker though he was, Nathaniel was eager to promote missionary endeavour, even of a puritan order, if that endeavour helped improve conditions between Englishmen and aboriginal natives.

During 1731 the meeting committee selected a rise of ground at the present head of Main Street as central for both town and farming members. All the winter of 1731-32 Silvanus Hussey labored with his carpenters in the construction of a building which for as long as it stood, and that well over a century, was by far the largest structure on the island, at least of structures intended for assembly functions. The meetinghouse in all probability (since actual figures are missing) stood 50 feet high at the hip-roof ridge-pole, giving it a somewhat squat appearance as its front was approximately 140 feet across and its depth 70 feet. It was a handsome early Georgian structure incorporating much of the rugged individuality of pre-Georgian Yearly Meetinghouse at Newport. A shed-like porch ran all along the south or front side of the house, sheltering three doorways, two of which gave entrance to the larger apartment, the women's room. Six windows were also sheltered by the porch, while above were nine window openings spaced a bit irregularly yet still giving an accurate impression of balance and precision. The four free-standing chimneys served necessary fireplaces, were very evident from a side view of the meetinghouse. Next each fireplace was a side door, those nearest the back of the house especially for ministers, elders, overseers, marriages or funerals. There were seven windows at each end of the house five up and two down. The rear or north wall of the

meetinghouse was punctured by two high doorways entered from a series of high steps. These opened directly into the facing seats or ministers gallery. The great hood or sounding board over this gallery, made it necessary for five of the rear wall windows to be small, absolutely square; nine others were of regular rectangular shape. Altogether there were nine doorway entrances from the outside and 41 windows into the huge structure, no wonder so many times in subsequent years much attention had to be put on the repairing of windows. The building was probably not painted, though perhaps after 1735 when house paint was available, the casements got some additional weather protection.

As for its interior the great room was divided by movable partitions into two apartments one the larger for the transacting of women's business: the other smaller, for the men's meeting. Upstairs a great youth's gallery ran about three sides of the meetinghouse reached by four staircases, the north wall free as before indicated to allow the sounding board above the raised facing seats of the ministers and elders. The great moveable shutters likewise cut the youth galleries into two secions. Three doorways opened through the closed shutters. Probably the house seated 1100 persons downstairs and 400 upstairs, and when the partitions were closed the women's apartment could contain 835 persons, while the men's room was limited to 665. The facing seats could accomodate 100 persons though they were probably sparsely filled except at the general meeting time in Fourth Month. There was no structure to equal it short of Newport or Boston. Thomas Chalkley recorded in his journal in 1736 a propos of a visit to Nantucket "now it is computed there were above a thousand who went to our meetings, they a sober religious people..." Friends needed a meetinghouse with eight times as great a seating capacity as the house they had enlarged in 1716. We may suppose the plain Nantucket Quaker took justifiable pride in his

many windowed house of worship, well wrought as it must have been by the coordinator o\f Nantucket's whaling fleet. How totally eclipsed was Parson White's puritan meetinghouse, still situated symbolically far behind on the hills near Capaum.

The meetinghouse was ready for occupancy when the General Meeting of 1732 was held. And there returned to be the especially honored guest none other than the same John Richardson, whose sensitive spirit had set Mary Starbuck on the inward path of the Quaker way of life. How marvelously satisfying it must have been to have sat among the thousands or more present and to know he had been faithful in painting them to their Inward teacher. Exactly thirty years later the plain Yorkshireman witnessed a growth hardly even set in motion by any individual in any walk of life. With appropriate humility John Richardson recorded in his Journal "we went to Nantucket, where we met with many innocent plain Friends....." Perhaps the memory of his seemingly miraculous rescue from a winter's flood and pneumonia in Yorkshire in 1718 kept him from ascribing too much to the "creature." Did he view again with mingled emotions the "bright rubb'd room"? Certainly he sat on the highest seat with Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., the man whose name he knew the day his landing in 1702 had caused such alarm.

As for the cost of the great meetinghouse, we unfortunately have no adequate figures. The meeting treasury stood at $1,354.00 in 1729. Drawn upon and contributed to, it was reduced to $529.60 in 1732. But this tells us nothing. Financing the construction was no small item. At least we know that for Thomas Macy had retired from the Treasurership in 1728 and Nathaniel Starbuck had assumed financial management till the growing complexity of funding the great meetinghouse forced him to turn over the care of the Treasury to his brother, Jethro Starbuck, then Chairman of the building committee. Paul Starbuck was directed by the meeting to assist

his uncle in the settling of accounts during the summer of 1732 when his special task was to procure funds from the women's meeting. On one occasion that winter Jethro and Paul turned over $2,329.60 to Silvanus Hussey. Otherwise the record is annoyingly incomplete. As late, however, as the winter of 1736-1737 Nantucket Friends refused the request of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting for $620.00 to help with the construction of a meetinghouse at Freetown, Massachusetts, because "we have lately built a large meetinghouse and have not finished it." We are indeed startled. Surely the building was completed. What must be indicated here is incomplete payment on its costs.

As for the old meetinghouse it was turned into a Friends School under the guidance of Benjamin Coffin, who owed his excellent training to his Gayer grandfather and his able and devoted mother Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, sister to the women's clerk. Benjamin Coffin was a classicist, who both wrote and spoke in Latin. There were about 50 Quaker children of the proper age for educating in 1732. Thus the school got under way. Conveniently enough the current schoolmaster, one Collins who kept a "cent School" in the town house, had recently vacated the routine of education for the exciting adventures of piracy. Unfortunately we must record that Benjamin's school did not occupy the old meetinghouse many years, for in 1735 the property went up in smoke with a consequent loss of to the meeting of $4,000.00. The school however survived for many years in (1735-1777), in its new location in the town of Nantucket proper. His school in Nantucket town stood on the southwest side of Pleasant Street, where it ran all twelve months, though the older children attended only in winter and the younger in summer. Fees were payable Quarterly and ran $48.00 per half year. Many times fees were paid in kind as specie was rare, and paper money depreciated. The goods taken in led to Benjamin setting up a shop, In time he handled the drawing up and settling of whaling voyage shares, and his shop became a counting-house or proto-banking institution. But to return to the school, its hours

ran from 8:00-11:00 a.m. and from 1:00 to 4:30 p.m. Students used rough paper, soft lead and quills with ink. How many thousands of children passed through the doors of this important Quaker school is difficult to compute.

But to return to events in the Quaker world of 1728-1728, on the first anniversary of the opening of the new meetinghouse, that is in Fourth Month, 1733, Nathaniel Starbuck resigned the clerkship of the monthly meeting. He had held this post for exactly a quarter century. He then took over the office of treasurer with the concomitant duty of completing finance the great meetinghouse. Jethro Starbuck who had stepped into the breach the year before, was made clerk of the joint committee of Elders and Overseers. At the same time the monthly meeting directed that the so-called "Morning Meeting" of ministers which had been established in 1728, move from the Tobey House to new meetinghouse, where it continued under the leadership of Nathaniel Starbuck many more years. The general men's meeting meanwhile selected Joseph Marshall to act as their clerk. Joseph had joined the meeting in 1713 after his second marriage not under the care of Friends to the unconventional widow Abigail (Hussey) Howes.

As for his qualifications for the position, the man constituted a neutral element in the uniquely ingrown family structure of the island. Boston was his original home. Joseph Marshall had acquired a well turned literary style at the Latin school of that town. His occupation on Nantucket was the management of a rope walk industry, naturally subsidiary to the Starbuck oil monopoly. He was therefore a "safe" man to succeed the great Nathaniel. Though Joseph was in the prime of health, 62 years of age, and seven years older than ex-clerk, he was a spiritually sensitive soul, an elder in the meeting of twenty years standing. Considering the major changes, effected in organizational function in 1732-33 it is appropriate to observe that Nantucket meeting was conscious of the completion

of its first quarter century of service in the world.

The 1730's were the halcyon days par excellance for the whaling industry. The 'teens had launched the sperm fishery. The twenties had relocated the town base of operations.. The lucrative thirties were epitomized in the rise of a new family dynasty on the island namely the Rotch's. Here was a name which was fated to draw-to itself the greatest repute ever attached to any Nantucket whaler. Joseph Rotch was born at Salisbury in old England, but was brought as a child to Salem, Massachusetts, where his father died. Raised in poverty by an illiterate mother, the boy resolved to break away from his handicaps and make a success of himself in a new enviroment. His trade like that of his father was to make shoes-to Cordwain. We find him a youth of 21 on Nantucket in 1725. In 1728 he managed to apprentice himself to Paul Starbuck, glass-setter, and son of the men's clerk. Proving himself prudent and quick to learn and accumulate property, Joseph won the hand of Love Macy, daughter of Treasurer Thomas. Their marriage in 1733 under the care of the meeting was to prove as far as Quakerism on Nantucket was concerned the most important event immediately subsequent to the construction of the meetinghouse. Two years later Joseph purchased a lot from William Worth, and built himself a house unfortunately no longer standing. His figure on Main Street as an independent merchant was already marked with respect. Though active in whaling investment, his real interests lay in the West Indies trade, where despite the Molasses Act of 1733, Joseph Rotch made a fortune in sugar, brandy and wine. It was Joseph's son William who focused attention primarily on whaling and it was the son who bequeathed us the great fame, above observed.

As for the father he:

> was a man of great activity and shrewdness in business his manner quick and vivacious. He was determined and at the same time had a pleasing address. Consequently he had his way in everything. He was full of unostentacious benevolence, and preferred the recipient

> "of his bounty should remain in ignorance of the hand that gave. He delighted in a joke, and was singularly ready in repartee".

It is no wonder that this is not so plain, nor so very solemn Quaker proved more than a match in the business world for the Starbuck monopolists. By the time Nathaniel Starbuck reached his deathbed in 1753 it was evident to all that if any one man could succeed to his dominant merchandizing position on Nantucket, that person would be Joseph Rotch or his even abler son, William. Joseph, though a Quaker could never bring himself to use the plain language. William on the other hand was the very personification of the traditional 18th Century Friend, and as well a minister of the gospel of great power. But the son was half Macy, and as well could claim Coffin, Gardner, Shattuck, Austin and even Starbuck ancestry itself. Though the saga of the Rotch-family beckons, all we can do at this juncture is to notice the launching of Joseph into trade, his marriage, and the birth of the well-starred William.

At the opening of the decade Nantucket whaling sloops averaged 45 tons (cost $5,400.00) and at the end of the decade 65 tons (cost $7,800.00). Voyages generally lasted three months. The crews were relatively small perhaps six men on the smaller sloops and twelve on the larger. Until mid-century fully two-thirds of the crew were native Indians, or Indians from Martha's Vineyard. Some white Vineyarders also shipped on Nantucket vessels. On a regular cruise in the early 1730's, the crews' wages, including the officers, grossed $2,260.00 while in the latter 1730's ran over $3,660.00. When the cost of outfitting a sloop was coupled with the wage expenditures of one season's voyage, we are struck by a rise of capital investment in the decade from $7,660.00 to $11,460.00. Naturally vessels were owned by shareholders, or were outfitted for specific seasonal voyages by the sale of stock. The officers and crew were likewise issued blocs of shares which were to be cashed in terms of the above marginal profits of any particular voyage. Such

shares were an encouragement to the putting forth of every ounce of energy, once the cry was sounded "Thar'she blows". After a summer's voyage the sloops were bottomed up on the shore while all the masts rigging and whaling gear were sorted and stored in nearby warehouses. The bottomed sloops were scraped and roped down for the winter. For two weeks preceeding and two weeks following each voyage there was the additional costs of the laborers who received $3.00 a day for equipping or dismantling each craft. Here was an additional $600.00 which must needs be set aside. And during the winter months there were always replacements of broken or worn out gear. The town was full of nautical industry, ropewalks, cooper or barrell shops, iron forges, sail lofts, et al, Those who were otherwise dependent on the seasonal whaling voyage for income, worked busily at the "replacement" handicrafts in all but the coldest weeks of the year. At least six furnaces on the mainland of New England and 20 forges supplied iron harpoons and other cutting instruments needed in the dangerous whale fisher. The increasing demand for sloops was met by the building of a shipyard in every river mouth and harbor of the New England coast. And as might be expected deep sea whaling had begun to take root in the mainland ports, first at Newport in 1733, and then later from the Nova Scotia base. In both instances, however, we find Nantucket enterprise directly responsible. Nathaniel Starbuck had purchased land from Governor Walter Clark for warehousing his products several years before on Rhode Island. And small equipment huts for storage of additional gear at strategic Nova Scotian points, soon led to independent sub-voyages initiated from those centers. The day when William Rotch should attempt to lead the whole fishery away from Nantucket was foreshadowed in the year his father was courting Love Macy.

Though the decade under consideration was one of unusual prosperity, yet unwise issuance of fiat money, each issue called a "bank" was leading

to an inflation which made for great uncertainty in business. A depression in 1713 and 1714, largely brought on because of the trade inhibiting activity of French privateers, had resulted in Massachusetts adopting the device of printing paper money to overcome the scarcity of specie. Often the paper was backed by grants of proprietary lands in frontier townships. Usually it was distributed in bulk proportionately, according to property to the several town clerks for the purpose of uniforms channeling of the money into the economy of the province. Gradually the "old tenor" paper notes, as they were called, depreciated. And in 1737 in Massachusetts, and in 1740 in Rhode Island, "new tenor" notes were issued, each new note to be worth four of the old. An ounce of silver was stabilized at 6 2/3 single new tenor notes, and an aunce of gold at 98 single new tenor notes. It was expected that new import, tonnage and lighthouse maintenance duties levied on trading ships would meet the costs of the new paper money. Knowing how prone the colonists were to smuggle or otherwise avoic duty payments, it is not difficult to predict that the new tenor money proved itself a surely characteristic ancestor of the revolutionary "continental".

Apparently pre-occupation with this world's business and its perplexities kept Nantucket Friends from as close interest in the application of the Quaker discipline to superfluities and other minor testimonies. Wigs were all but universal in New England in 1738. Apparently the Nantucket Quaker gave in and covered his own with false har. Hoods for matrons were likewise universal, replacing the dunce-like 17th Century conical hat to which the older women Friends on Nantucket still clung. The hood was the "wave of the future" and the ancestor in time of the sugar scoop bonnet. Square toes, wooden heels and silver buckles disappeared from the fashionable world of women's footwear, but continued on Nantucket till the middle of the century. A pointed toe and a parasol were indications of extreme

worldliness. Men Friends ordinarily wore the leather "britches" which George Fox found so useful. On meeting days black broadcloth was used, with deep brood skirted frock coats without, however, lace at the neck and sleeves. The long waistcoats or vests had deep pockets. Knee length trousers allowed for wool hose and the universal silver buckled shoe. The three-cornered felt hat went with the man of substance who often sported a silver headed cane. The goods from which his wife's dress apron and stole were made were various; kersey, dimity, calico, taffeta, or even silk "prunella". Dresses had plain collars, and cuffs, were generally elbow and ankle length. Generally speaking the Nantucket Quaker dressed in as fine materials as his "worldy" neighbor, but without as complex decorations, while in design, his general costume was a generation behind that of the current fashion plate.

If the meeting was prone to overlook what irregularities might occur in the outward appearance of costume, it was still greatly interested in deportment. There were of course apologies for pre-marital sex relations, and other associated irregularities. For instance early in 1730 a certain Robert Gardner submitted a paper, a part of which is reproduced here:

> "Friends as My offence is made publickly by ye accusation of a young woman tho not to yt degree as she had accused me, yet I acknowledge my behavour with her was so uncomely yet I am affraid I offended Ye Great God..."

Apparently Robert's offense ranges somewhere between breach of promise and a list of promiscuous "necking" before he settled his affections on his wife to be. Perhaps we feel even more sympathetic with the lad when it is recalled that "Romance in matrimony was superficial, the economic factor deep and abiding". The meeting felt the case to be difficult enough that they appointed John Macy, Jr., and Jethro Gardner to assist Elihu Coleman in impressing upon the young convinced Friend the seriousness of his situation. More interesting to us however than the three cases of marriage irregularities in the decade was a double case of objectionable drunkenness.

It seemed that Nathaniel Paddock, newly convinced husband of Ann (Bunker) Paddock, and Shubael Coffin had "been excessive in taking strong lickqor to their own Scandal and Shame and Ye Great Sorrow of Ye meeting" in the spring of 1730. The overseers were asked to get the two offenders to write a condemnation of their conduct for "Ye peace and quiet of Ye Church." Nothing had happened by yearly meeting of that year. The case was still being carried in the fall. Finally by winter a warning was issued that disownment would follow, should they fail to send in a proper acknowledgment. A month later there appeared a great long document signed by Nathaniel Paddock, which utilized the word "humble" so frequently as to make us think involuntarily of Uriah Heep. Shubael Coffin on the other hand penned a terse condemnation to the effect he hoped the meeting would forget what was past. Why Nathaniel took to drink is relatively unknown. Perhaps poverty. Perhaps an over-pious wife, for Ann Paddock was an elder. The causes for Shubael's fall are more understandable. Heir of the Coffin land monopoly, his marriage to Priscilla Starbuck, had produced no child. His was the more difficult case. The alcoholism was too pronounced to overcome. Late in 1731 he was recipient of a "testimony and condemnation against Ye disorderly conversation of Shubael Coffin." Batchellor Hussey and John Macy, Jr., were given the unpleasant duty of delivering the document, a copy of which was ordered read at First Day meeting some five weeks later. What efforts were made to help the unfortunate man are not known. In a liberal community which had overlooked a number of marriages out of meeting, it was felt that Friends could hardly keep in good standing a member who had become a degenerate drunkard, no matter how human his reason for collapse might be. Shubael Coffin was the third permanent disownment affected in Nantucket meeting. He died of alcoholism six years later. Apparently Ann Paddock was able to keep Nathaniel in line thereafter.

In the realm of wider social consciousness, the subject of slavery came to receive special attention. Yearly Meeting in 1727 had issued a stern advice condemning the slave trade. Following upon this in the winter of 1727-30, Elihu Coleman presented for the approval of the meeting "a Smal piece of Manuscript" condemning life-time bondage as incompatible with Christianity. The essay which was first published in 1733, was approved and sent up for the Quarterly meeting imprimatur. Its title reads A Testimony against that Anti-Christian Practise of Making Slaves of Men...Not unmindful of the possible unfriendly reaction of the Rhode Island Quaker slave holders, Elihu Coleman first procured their support, or at least insured against their active apposition. The gist of the little 22 page book was that Friends needed to rouse themselves to sensitivity of the evil involved. Its tone is emotional and its course rather direct, though gramatically poor.

The essay is divided into four parts. First is a statement of Coleman's philosophical position. Then follows several citations of authorities opposed to lifetime slavery. Third the psychological damages derived from the institution receive attention. And finally a warning of consequences is issued, directed toward those who do not heed the message of the essay. Elihu Coleman states a typical Quaker position. He has examined the scriptures searching for truth. Then he knew God "in Some Small degree and Measure". And in the validity of his dual experience, elected to remain in the community of Friends, whose principles he felt to be "undeniable". Inherant in Quaker principles was the impulse to cry out against evil wherever known. Citation of anti-slavery authorities include George Fox in his Gospel Family-Order and both the old and new testaments. Freedom in outward circumstances is seen as a direct corallary of free will. Further Coleman suggests that if the Turks free slaves when they embrace Islam, how much more should Christians free slaves when they accept Christ. Psychologically the unchristian vices of pride and idleness are specified as the root of the institution of

slavery. Both lead to the cultivation of superfluities and eventually vice. In itself slaveholding made owners accessories-after-the-fact of the mortal sins of man-stealing and murder. Finally Elihu could not but be impressed with the knowledge that the most tender-hearted Christians to a man viewed slavery as pernicious. As for the final warning Coleman suggested "that God will not forgive what is in our power to help" and in Quaker good taste referred the reader to the light of Christ in his own conscience for further confirmation of his thesis.

This is little doubt but that Elihu Coleman's concern regarding slavery was the direct product of his mother's insistence that his father free their slaves, and an indirect product of John Richardson's insight that the love of almighty God was extended toward his grandmother. Nantucket meeting once again vindicated the position taken in 1716. The pamphlet was couched in the careful language later used by Anthony Benezet and John Woolman, and consequently avoided the negative reaction which resulted in the disownment of John Farmer and a contemporary Friend of Abington Monthly Meeting, Benjamin Lay, Still another pamphlet issued by Ralph Sandiford of Philadelphia in 1729 the year of Elihu Coleman's authorship, caused such a storm that that Friend was forced to retire from the city of Brotherly Love. On this other hand we have little evidence that Coleman's pamphlet caused much change of sentiment in New England Yearly Meeting where it generally circulated. Not until 1744 did the Yearly Meeting repeat its advice of 1727 for Friends to keep clear of the slave trade. Thereafter anti-slavery objection increased especially in Rhode Island, the large slave holding section. But the work stemmed largely from the dynamic personality of John Woolman and later of William Rotch, above-noted Nantucket merchant-prince and successor to Nathaniel Starbuck. But their stories lie ahead.

In 1735, Elihu Coleman was recorded in the ministry, and subsequently he engaged in religious journeys at least throughout Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting before the close of the decade. In later years he traveled as far south as Philadelphia where, no doubt, he made known his anti-slavery views, when opportunity allowed. What influence Elihu Coleman exerted cannot be measured from what we know of his life. As for his single printed book, it was the only work published by a Nantucketer between 1698 and 1763. Coleman's Testimony against slavery has been through three additional editions since it first appeared in 1733, and has been the subject of a recent small historical monograph. However, none of the subsequent editions are intimately related to the period of our study, as the first of them only appeared in 1825.

As for relations between Nantucket Monthly Meeting and its superior bodies Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting and New England Yearly Meeting, there continued as before an undesirable haphazard hit or miss quality. Regular representation at superior sessions was not even attempted. Fortunately a goodly proportion of mainland visitors kept the fellowship fresh and vital. It might be well to notice at this point the mutual relationship of which we have record.

In response to an appeal for funds in Fifth Month 1728, the new treasurer Nathaniel Starbuck sent off $300.00 to Thomas Richardson, Quarterly Meeting treasurer and an equivalent amount earmarked for Richard Partridge in London for use in the repeal of anti-Quaker laws in England. A request to assist Providence monthly meeting in the building of a meetinghouse at Mendam, Massachusetts, was postponed till a later meeting. Subsequently explanation of the plans for the meetinghouse at Mendam was afforded when Joseph Smith, minister of Providence, and his companion, young Joseph Edmunds of Greenwich put in appearance a week later. Joseph Smith had been on the

island before in 1708 and in 1712. Evidently the explanation was wholly satisfactory for the said Joseph departed $500.00 to the good, as reported to the next monthly meeting, when Nantucket Friends graciously recorded the visitors "had Several good meetings with us".

Nathaniel Starbuck was asked to attend the Eighth Month Meeting and to carry with him the quarterly report to be prepared by brother Jethro and nephew Jethro Gardner. If he attended, his report was purely routine. In the spring of 1729 an epistle from Benjamin Holme was received, transmitted from Quarterly Meeting. Benjamin it may be recalled was the markedly anti-slavery Friend of the 1715-16 visit. There is just the possibility that the document may have moved Elihu Coleman to begin writing his essay on the subject later that year.

Yearly meeting took Nathaniel Starbuck to Newport as usual. He returned with a number of traveling Friends none of them Quarterly Meeting members, but to whom he presented $90.00 toward the cost of traveling to the island. An equivalent sum was dispatched to Ephriam Hicks at Newport for that faithful friend of Nantucket to send another quantity of George Fox primers for the education of the youth; a month later an additional $120.00 was sent to procure 30 copies of Barclay's apology at $4.00 a copy. Apparently the primers cost $.50 a piece at that rate 180 of them had been ordered. The supply would last a good many years. As clerk-treasurer, Nathaniel Starbuck saw to it that both written and living epistles were looked after.

A certain Ruth Fish of Newport, a young unmarried Friend was at the Seventh Month business session as a ministers companion when the clerk and his whaling partner John Macy, Jr., were asked to attend next Quarterly Meeting leaving the report John and Jethro Starbuck were to prepare. This time we have record of the representatives attendance at Newport and their sharing in a case between Thomas Rodman, clerk of the Yearly Meeting and

Samuel Clark, scion of that prominent governing family. As this quarterly meeting was reported back, three young Newport Quakers, Robert Cathcart, Ebenezer Tisdale and Joshua Walrand turned up for the wedding of minister Nathaniel Coleman to widow Mary (Folger) Gardner one of the unofficial directors of the Judith Wilcox "holding company".

In 1730 Nathaniel Starbuck ommitted his usual Yearly Meeting visit to Newport. His brother Jethro, and recently married nephew Nathaniel were asked to write the quarterly report, which was added to for the women by Dinah Starbuck, Elihu Coleman, to speak regarding his essay on slavery, was joined in prospective attendance by Benjamin Barney, one time tailor of Newport. They returned with the appeal for funds for the Meshanticut meetinghouse which was turned down some months later. Meanwhile Nantucket had been host to two women. Sarah (Shearman) Chase of Swansea local, and Rhode Island Monthly Meetings was the middle-aged wife of Joseph Chase, whom she survived, and in 1737 was remarried to a certain John Read. Her son Jonathan Shearman married Ruth Fish the visitor of the preceeding summer. This occurred in 1732 when they went to live in Dover, New Hampshire. Sarah Chase's companion was Sarah Norton, also of Swansea, a woman of whom we know little more than her name. As for Swansea Meeting itself, it achieved the status of monthly meeting in Eighth Month, 1732, the sixth of the fellowship centering at Newport, though there had been agitation since 1719 for a monthly meeting to be founded at Swansea. The list of monthly meetings then included, Rhode Island, Dartmouth, Greenwich, Nantucket, Smithfield, and Swansea. Providence changed its name to Smithfield in 1731.

Subsequent to the appearance of the Swansea delegation there appeared Adam Mott, Jr., an old friend of the island, living at Dartmouth. He returned again in the spring of 1736 with John Tucker, one of the founding fathers of Dartmouth.

The winter after Adam Mott's earlier visit, an important link by marriage was made between Nantucket and Newport. Richard Mitchell, Jr., son of Mary Mitchell, widow, proposed marriage with Mary Starbuck, daughter of the women's clerk. As the marriage was allowed with a letter of permission from his mother in Newport, the first of Maria Mitchell's own name started his home on the island. In due season he was recognized as one of the most gifted Quaker ministers on the island. From this union stemmed a useful strain, not as brilliantly successful as the Rotch admixture, but still of high quality. As with the earlier transported Newport Barneys, the Mitchells were known as people of refinement. One further Mitchell connection occurred in the autumn of 1737 when Richard's brother James Mitchell appeared with intentions of marrying Mary Folger, Captain Jethro and Mary (Starbuck) Folger's daughter. In this case a third brother Joseph Mitchell came along to attend the ceremony, and to see the newlyweds safely back to Newport homestead. A certificate of clearness from Rhode Island Monthly Meeting had been received along with a letter from Mary Mitchell, then Mary Mitchell Wood. A wealthy Newport merchant, Clothier Peirce, his wife, and namesake, attended to give further significance to an already important union. James and Mary Mitchell's home in Newport was a natural stopping place for representatives to Quarterly meeting in the years that followed.

The spring of 1731 after Richard Mitchell moved onto the island was a time of tragedy, as the sloop belonging to Thomas Hathaway foundered while under his command, with the loss of all hands. Among those drowned was Benjamin Starbuck son of the men's clerk. It will be recalled that Thomas and Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hathaway lived in Dartmouth from which base they had seen the first Quaker missionaries to Nantucket in 1698.

Yearly Meeting as usual took Nathaniel Starbuck to Newport, from which he returned with Joshua Wiscom, an elder of Darmouth who made his only

recorded visit at this time. They reported that property qualifications for voting in Rhode Island had risen so high ($10,000. property ownership), that a mere handful of Baptists and Quakers controlled the colony.

Then two years lapsed before further contact was re-established. The busyness of building the great meetinghouse may account in part for the lack. Then at the General Meeting on Nantucket in 1733, at the time of Nathaniel Starbuck's retirement from the clerkship, he reported on the Yearly Meeting held at Newport and read another epistle from Benjamin Holme, the English anti-slavery advocate. Batchellor Hussey was asked to attend Quarterly Meeting to present the report prepared by Jethro Starbuck and his nephew Nathaniel Coleman. David Irish the familiar Friend of Little Tiverton, and his companion, a newcomer, David Richards, of the same place were on hand to hear the instructions given at that time. This was the last important public service rendered Nantucket meeting by Elder Batchellor Hussey. At Yearly Meeting time in 1737, he "signified his Intent or Design to move his family hence down to the Eastward", which he did at the end of the summer, locating at Biddeford, Maine, within the compass of Dover Monthly Meeting, New Hampshire. There were several factors influencing the migration of the second Quaker family as such from the island, not least among which was Abigail Hussey's origin at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

While Batchellor Hussey was at Quarterly Meeting in Fifth Month 1733, Nantucket was host to an in-law of the Harpers of Sandwich, a certain Elizabeth Harper of Secunet, part of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. She is hardly more than a name to us. Fall brought more significant connections. One David Joy, a young widower of Dartmouth moved onto the island, and married one of the prolific non-Quaker Gardners; in meeting of course. Representing Darmouth Friends was Edward Hammett, one of the few literary Quakers of the area. Two copies of his book, title unknown to us, were purchased by the meeting at $4.00 a copy in Fifth Month 1738 from Joseph

Jacob, Quarterly Meeting, treasurer. Apparently the manuscript had received official Quaker sanction before it appeared in print. It was before Quarterly Meeting in 1727. Nonetheless David Joy's removal to Nantucket was a happy beginning of a new family of quality, one to measure with the Barneys or the Mitchells.

A much less auspicious marriage venture followed. Another Dartmouth Friend William Swan, of uncertain origins and connections proposed marriage with a niece of Priscilla Coleman's. Whatever happened the wedding never materialized and William Swan vanished with abruptness associated with the traditional "swan-song". A third prospective marriage was of significance almost equalling that of Joseph Rotch to Love Macy. In this case, Samuel Stanton of Westerly, Rhode Island, a member of Greenwich Monthly Meeting was joined to Sarah Coffin, daughter of miller Sanuel. It happened that a cousin of his Henry Stanton, Jr. was among those active in Coresound Monthly Meeting, North Carolina, south of Cape Hatteras, on the coast, and founded in this year of 1733. Forty years later a great migration of Nantucket Friends took place as they sought a new utopia in the southern province. The roots of the Nantucket experiment at New Garden may be traced through the Coresound Friends, and especially the Stantons of Westerly to the marriage of Samuel Stanton onto that island in the winter of 1733/4.

No one went to Quarterly Meeting when the Joy, Rotch, Swan, Stanton proposals were being considered. Only John Macy, Jr., and Captain Jethro Folger were named to send in a written report. And meanwhile the web of future events which seemed so accurately foreshadowed in the winter of 1733 and 34 received still another significant connection in the spring visit of Joseph Russell, farmer-owner of the mouth of the Acushnet river, past which Thomas Hatheway had so frequently sailed before his tragic

death. Just at the end of the 1698-1763 period the friendship kindled between Joseph Russell and Joseph Rotch flowered in the building of a New Nantucket on the Russell farm, the place we call New Bedford today. In one sense Nantucket repaid Darmouth township with the debt she owed the Acushnet Hathaways. There were many links forged between the Joseph Russells' and Nantucket before 1763, the first of which occurred in the summer of 1735 when Joseph's son William was married to Elizabeth Smith orphaned daughter of Armstrong and Mehitable Smith, late of Philadelphia. Just why Elizabeth Smith was living on Nantucket is obscure. She was evidently related to Mary(Allen) Coffin-Peirce, widow of the wealthly whaling captain Paul Coffin(who was not a Friend,) and later wife of Clothier Peirce the above noted wealthly Newport merchant, who probably married her under the care of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting. At least both Clothier and Mary Peirce came all the way from Newport to attend the marriage. In this case William and his bride rather naturally settled in Dartmouth. Another of the Russell children was destined to live on Nantucket.

After Yearly Meeting closed in Newport in 1734, Nathaniel Starbuck brought on to the Nantucket General Meeting, a group of unusually distinguished visitors. In fact the monthly meeting reimbursed a Friend of Falmouth $8.80 for bringing them over. Three were Quarterly Meeting Friends. The most impressive of these was Moses Aldrich (1690-1761) kin of Samuel, and like him a member and minister of Mendom, (Massachusetts). Particular and Smithfield Monthly Meeting, one of the outstanding ministers of the Yearly Meeting he had joined friends in 1715, been recorded in the ministry four years later, visited Barbadoes in 1722 and Charleston, South Carolina in 1730. On this visit he was bound again for Barbadoes and was destined to minister in England from 1739-1741. His companion was Governor John

Easton's son by the same name, a familiar figure on the island. The third visitor was Hannah Proud (1712-) cousin of Robert Proud the Pennsylvania historian, a native of Yorkshire, but raised as a child in Newport. Two years later she again visited Nantucket with John Easton, Jr., and four years later married a Timothy Waterhouse of Dover, New Hampshire. The men Friends heard William Clasby the transplanted Kingwood Friend commissioned to carry the report of Nantucket to Quarterly Meeting. In this case Jethro Starbuck his nephew, Elihu Coleman and sister-in-law Dinah Starbuck were asked to produce the report.

In the seventh month of 1734 the young minister Nathaniel Coleman was granted a minute "to travel westward in the Service of Truth" which probsbly indicated a drawing in his mind toward Philadelphia the mecca of Quakerdom. He may well have carried the document to Quarterly Meeting for endorsement. At least he carried to that gathering the fall report signed by himself and his cousin Paul Starbuck. The journey was completed by mid-winter for he was on hand to sign the winter report in company with his uncle Jethro Starbuck.

The spring of 1735 seems to have been a dull time, the women reporting things "indifferent well" and the men's minutes stating "nothing remarkable" happening, which means nothing worth notation in the minutes. Jethro Starbuck, Elihu Coleman and the usual Dinah Starbuck were given the task of reporting the doldrums. In fact till the end of the decade whenever the women reported anything it was Dinah who did it. Things continued indifferent well as was reported again a year later.

One slight ripple in the calm was reported by Benjamin Barney, the tailor, who attended Quarterly Meeting in Fifth Month 1735, a month after the men's clerk returned from his usual pilgrimage to Newport. A letter had been drawn to mollify that fire-eater Governor Jonathan Belcher of Massachusetts, whose maladministration from 1730 to 1741 produced many

bitter quarrels. A vain and touchy colonial he was deadly opposed to paper money banks, based on frontier land speculation. His policy brought ruin to many merchants as was plain for all to see in the Boston-Post Bag a newspaper which started its publication in 1734. In this case Belcher was currently upset over a forthright document he received expressive of the Quaker position as regards war. One doubts if he were capable of understanding pacifism even as an idealistic theory. This same session of Quarterly Meeting requested Nantucket to pay $60.00 of an estimated budget of $1,500.00. If the assessment were laid on a purely mathematical basic of membership, there must needs have been 14,500 members of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting. Evidently other factors were considered as we know that in 1760 there were hardly 12,000 members of the meeting. And the 18th Century was not one of Quaker decline in Southern New England. Perhaps Nantucket had oversubscribed its last quota.

"Nothing remarkable" is the appropriate term for the next three years of Quarterly Meeting, though reports went in with surprising regularity. A gradual change in personnel both in representatives and reporters in noticable. A new generation was coming to the fore. Jethro Starbuck and his brother the clerk continued however as usual. Jethro attended in the fall and winter of 1735 and in the fall of 1736. He helped prepare reports in the summer of 1736, in the summer of 1737 and in the fall of 1737. John Macy, Jr., attended with Jethro the fall of 1735, and helped with the summer report of 1738. Elihu Coleman attended with Jethro in the winter of 1735, and helped with the report the following spring, when Nantucket felt they could not help finance the Freetown meetinghouw. To persue this interest a moment, a few weeks later Theophilus Shove of Dighton (1715-1796) and attender at Freetown appeared to put the case for that meetinghouse, but departed eventually with no funds whatsoever. To

help pen the negative spring report in 1736, Elihu Coleman was aided by Richard Worth, a new Friend and appointee, safe, as his off-island wife was a gifted miniter. His name again appears in the summer report for 1738. To help Uncle Jethro with the summer's report in 1736 Nathaniel Coleman was named, and Aunt Dinah Starbuck. Theophilus Shove was present that day, and also David Irish on a return visit. In fact there was the largest group of Quarterly Meeting Friends on hand during the whole decade from 1728 to 1738. From Dartmouth Monthly Meeting was Ebenezer Woodward, minister of Rochester local meeting, and Savery Clifton his companion; from Rhode Island Monthly Meeting, John Casey (1695-1767) son-in-law of Ephriam Hicks, husband of the gifted minister Elizabeth Hicks; from Greenwich Monthly Meeting, Peter Davis (1712-1812), who lived to a famous old age. And also six other friends already noticed. One other Quarterly Meeting Friend who came during the year was Meribah Slocumb, kin of the Dartmouth family of that name, but resident on Rhode Island. She came in Seventh Month. John Casey and Ebenezer Woodward returned incidentally the next year.

Quarterly Meeting in Fifth Month 1736 transmitted a request, and a bit of significant information. Nantucket Meeting was asked to indicate approval or disapproval of a reprint of a book, title unknown, by a Moses West. An affirmative answer was given two months later, and at General Meeting time in 1738, $50.00 was sent to pay for 30 copies which Nathaniel Starbuck and Nathaniel Coleman had brought back from Yearly Meeting with them. They had been present at the 1736 sessions also.

The other business was information transmitted to the morning or select meeting, that the elders were requested to gather an hour before the ministers entered the meetinghouse for their Select Quarterly Meeting. Here in a small way was the origin of the troubles which culminated in the great separation of the 19th Century.

Things went "indifferent well" the rest of that year. Jethro Folger assisted Jethro Starbuck in the fall report for 1736. Richard Macy and Benjamin Coffin were given the responsibility in the winter, and Benjamin was on deck again for the summer report that for the spring having been omitted. Fall met with his fine penmanship as did winter and its report. The summer report had been joint with Jethro and Dinah Starbuck. And at that time Nathaniel Coleman reported on Yearly Meeting for 1737. Christopher Townsend of Newport was the new personality introduced to Nantucket at that time. His companion was Dr. Clarke Rodman, familiar scion of important families who had known Nantucket a decade earlier.

Benj. Barney the tailor shared responsibilities with the meetings schoolmaster in the fall report. And in the winter Mehitabel Pollard replaced Dinah Starbuck in responsibility for the women. Having covered the men's report already we rush on to the summer report for 1738, the spring report having been omitted again as it was the year before. Once again Mehitabel Pollard signed the women's report, and once again we note having already handled the personnel of the men reporters. Both Nathaniel Starbuck and his even more active nephew Nathaniel Coleman finished the era of ease and prosperity in Zion by reporting on Yearly Meeting held at Newport in 1738. Certainly the utter lack of significant happenings in the decade just summarized was in contrast to the wild speculation in frontier proprietary lands which gave color to the period. There was, however, outside meeting affairs a decidedly ominous development in the Nantucket proprietary, a situation which was increasingly aggravated in the decades ahead, and contained within its muddied complexities the secret of the collapse of Nantucket Quakerism.

The chain of events was set in motion by the death of the last of his generation, the great Mary Starbuck's brother, Stephen Coffin, Sr., in 1734.

Stephen was then 82 years of age, survived by only one Quaker of his numerous children, she Judith Wilcox, and symbolically he had already disposed of most of his property, leaving each of his children or their descendants only $20.00 per son or daughter. What property he still held constituted the ancient farm of his father, the original Tristram Coffin. The land itself in this case was given to the children of his late son, the whaling captain Paul Coffin. Judith Wilcox and two non-Quaker sisters were named his executors and they were to sell the house and all personal property and then to divide the proceeds among the heirs. During the course of this careful inventory of goods found in Tristram Coffin's old farmhouse during that winter of 1734-35, they came across an old deed made out on the 16th of Fourth Month 1664, by their grandfather, granting to Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, their aunt, since deceased, one half of one of Tristram's full shares of land in the Proprietary. It was subsequently discovered the other half of this particular full share had been properly deeded to the said Mary Starbuck in 1667, and had long since been occupied by her and since by her heirs and assigns. What was so peculiar in the case of the 1664 deed was that it had never been recorded. Consequently there appeared to be an entire half share of the proprietary in which Mary Starbuck's heirs might appropriately claim to inherit equally. By the decade of the 1730's, the lands held by the Proprietary had been zoned in such a way that this particular half share constituted a claim to rich pasture land 60 rods square near Quaise at the head of the harbor. As this was the region of the annual round-up of the last flock of sheep, the deed immediately took onto itself accrued valuation not envisaged by the donor in 1664. To further complicate the picture the Proprietary had been in the habit of assigning specific portions of the Quaise lots involved, to certain heads of families, who had the habit of long years standing of grazing their sheep

in that particularly rich section of the island. Now it will be recalled that the Proprietary had been controlled almost from the beginning by the disproportionately greater shares of land held by the Coffin and Starbuck families. Should the 1664 deed prove valid before the courts, a further insurance to that land monopoly would be guaranteed.

What went on in the very active mind of the much married Judith Wilcox can only be glimpsed by us in a fragmentary way. She held the deed a year, no doubt acquainting her cousin Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., with its contents in general. Then convinced that it should be filed, she registered the document in 1736, when it produced a major sensation in the town of Nantucket. To some it appeared as an astute move on the part of the already too dominant Starbuck clan. Others perhaps saw it as a frantic gesture to sieze the economic control, which seemed otherwise to be slipping into the able hands of Joseph Rotch. Still others noticed that the unofficial "Judith Wilcox holding company" composed of her daughters and their husbands were the very individuals who would benefit most from the authenticating of the deed. What role Elihu Coleman played in the upset stir of emotions is not fully known to us. But evidently many saw an inconsistency between his evident approval of the property gain which the deed meant for his own kinfolks on one hand and his critically anti-slavery standards on the other hand. Elihu's book must have pinched a number of Nantucket toes. At any rate the resentment of those people who were already pushed around, or at least were feeling themselves pushed around by the land monopolists, grew and centered itself on the figure of the newly recorded minister Elihu Coleman.

As antipathies deepened a dual problem presented itself to the community sharpened once the deed was recorded as genuine. First, what could be done to ease out gently those persons who had come to associate their

proprietary rights with that particular 80 rods square pasturage. Second, assuming that the erstwhile trespassers were successfully ejected, should the entire pasturage rights in the grant be kept in trust for the descendants of the great Mary, or should the pasturage rights be divided equally among her heirs. The formation of a trust suited Nathaniel Starbuck better. Not only was trust management economical, but it further insured the power which was so essential to Starbuck domination of the island. And in the clerk's eyes his control was rendered a good thing, a variety of Quaker stewardship made expedient by the very nature of the Nantucket community.

It was at this point that the first major upheaval occurred in a storm which raged actively for a generation and whose eddies vitally affected the whole subsequent history of Nantucket. And from our viewpoint the initial wave of protest in 1738 constituted only a continuation of that struggle which had put Peter Folger in jail, and Stephen Hussey out of Quaker meeting. One of Mary Starbuck's children Eunice had married George Gardner, son of Captain John Gardner, the leader of the half-shares men in the bloodless revolution. Like his father, George Gardner was an intense Calvinist, and a pillar in Timothy White's mission church. The successful creation of a trust to handle the 1664 deed grant depended upon Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner. During the two year period from 1736 to 1738 negotiations were in process. One has the definite feeling that George Gardner discussed the matter very earnestly with the Reverend Mr. White, his nephew by marriage. Perhaps the latter saw his opportunity to weaken Starbuck power by non-cooperation as the hand of God appeared in a small way to be helping him to be delivered from the devilish power of this numerous body of Quaker heretics. At any rate Eunice Gardner didn't come in on the plan, and when the proprietary put sheep out on behalf of the trust to safely graze in the fall of 1737, George Gardner got busy. On

the 28th of the First Month 1738 he sued the proprietary for $25,000.00 that amount constituting he claimed the true value of his wife's share of the acreage now trespassed by the officials in charge of allocating sheep lands. Strangely enough the particular official sued was George Hussey, whose Harvard law training had been so effectively captured and incorporated by his potential rivals of a generation previous. The Inferior Court of Common Pleas of Nantucket County refused to evict George Hussey et al. Thereupon George Gardner promptly appealed to the Superior Court of Judicature, the highest legal body in the Province of Massachusetts. In the autumn of 1738, he lost the case. The trust held, and Starbuck control was reinforced. Eunice Gardner was forced to accept her one-seventh share of the earnings as they were distributed to her Quaker kinfolks. Once again Timothy White must have felt that he ought to depart this desert soil. Three years before his discouragement had resulted in a raise in salary granted by the Province itself on the recommendation of that anti-Quaker personage Governor Jonathan Belcher. The request for a raise had been pressed by the Reverend Benjamin "Deuteronomy" Coleman was probably more responsible for the Congregational mission on Nantucket than any other one person, situated advantageously as he was in his Boston Brattle Street parish. A steady correspondence appears to have been maintained between the off-island Nantucketer and the on-island missionary preacher. In 1731, White had been frustrated in his attempts to open a private school devoted to teaching the youth according to the puritan rule of life. In fact he didn't get the school going till 1745. The set-back in 1738 was only one in whole series that must have surely tried the soul of that disciple of John Calvin.

With the rejection of George Gardner's appeal, the active Congregational vs Quaker aspect of the case concluded. There still remained the first and

thornier problem which had been raised namely that of persuading those who had previously pastured their sheep on the Quaise area to withdraw their creatures and be happy about it. In this situation all parties were members of the meeting, and when the struggle broke out into the open in 1753, there was revealed a great breach the product of many years of hidden violent tensions. It is appropriate to conclude our decade of ease and prosperity in Zion with this foreshadowing of the troubles ahead. And in the wider world of New England religious life, there were likewise signs of unrest. The great awakening in New England had its inception in 1737. The fire and brimstone preaching of Jonathan Edwards, quiescent the first six years of his ministry, now Burst forth in a torrent of fronteir enthusiasm, which threatened not only the stability of Boston's godly regime, but ironically enough now the once radical Society of Friends. Nantucket would be rocked not so gently by the religious unsettlement ahead. But of greater moment to the island and its Quakerism was the impact of war, two wars to be exact each hitting closer to at the heart of the Quaker belief that one's enemies are to be cherished above one's property. The decade from 1728 to 1738 had built many sinews of character soon to be roughly tested as Nantucket Meeting reached its first plateau of maturity.

CHAPTER 10

"A Great Number of Choice Exemplary Friends. . ."

1728-1738

The years from 1728 to 1738 on Nantucket were remarkably quiet and uneventful compared to the years that preceeded and succeeded. The historian is hard put to it, to find material which illustrates other than slow solid growth in already well-established patterns. It was so in the wider scene of American life. The colonial fronteirs enlarged slowly. Georgia was founded. The Shenandoah Valley recently settled, developed Hopewell the farthest west of Friends meetings in 1735, and Newfoundland received its first royal governor. In North Carolina, the Governor was hard put to it to restrain the boisterousness the first American frontier. In the area of economics the first iron forge in America was developed in Maryland in 1736, which so alarmed the Board of Trade that two years later penalties were placed on erecting other forges in the colonies. Hugh Orr of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, was the chief forger of tools in New England in that year, and he probably broke the law to provide Nantucket with harpoons and other whaling gear. Intercolonial trade was encouraged, on the other hand, for the Virginia law against North Carolina tobacco was disallowed in 1731. A year later the first regular stage-coach route was established between New York and Philadelphia. In that center of Quaker life the Penn family returned to breed trouble in 1731, while the sect of Schwenckfelders appeared there three years later. In 1732 the Seventh-day Dunkards founded the cloistered Ephrata Society on the verge of Quakerdom. And in the city itself appeared the first public library in America, sponsored by Benjamin Franklin.

Meanwhile on Nantucket there was accumulated to the original 140 adult members of the meeting 210 additional "choice exemplary Friends." We shall first discuss the new members, and then the important visitors to the island in this chapter.

The first family to come to our attention in the 1728-1728 decade were the Folgers. Blacksmith Jonathan Folger buried his first wife Margaret (Gardner) Folger in the winter of 1727, and a few months afterwards wed widow Deborah (Paddock) Bunker, native of Cape Cod, and sister-in-law of Jabez Bunker. Some of her children by her first marriage were raised Friends, though it must be confessed she did not influence them much toward Quakerism. One son Obed Bunker got permission from his mother in 1737 to marry a Mary Duane off-island, probably according to the good order of the Society of Friends. And it may be presumed that he left the island at that time. Four other Folger men married under the care of the meeting in the next few years, three of them cousins of Jonathan Folger. The first of these was Barzillai Folger, through his mother cousin to the Churches and Clarks of Plymouth and Nantucket. His bride, who was later to be discovered to have been pregnant was Phebe Coleman, seventh "favored" child of the outstanding minister Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman. Proper apologies were forthcoming from them in the spring of 1731. Barzillai's sister Judith Folger may well have been caught in a similar predicament in the winter of 1728/9, but preferring not to apologize was married out of meeting to Thomas Jenkins, son of Matthew the Whaler. Next a brother of Barzillai and Judith, one Abishai Folger married in 1735 the widow of the tragically drowned Benjamin Starbuck; a woman named Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, and daughter of the late politician Stephen Coffin, Jr. Abishai, himself,

was then a widower, having first married into the illustrious Mayhew family from the Vineyard. How upset old Governor Mayhew would have been to learn his patrician strain had mingled with exile Folger blood. Abishai, was however, of quality equal to the old Governor for he was to be appointed guardian of the Nantucket Indians by the General Court of Massachusetts Colony where he was to sit for many years. Needless to say he was not overstrict in his Quakerism. The third Folger male married under the meeting was Eliphaz, nephew of Mary Jenkins and Abial Clasby, who was united to a girl from the prolific Gorham family of Barnstable on Cape Cod in 1735. In this case the bride was a granddaughter to Anna Trott, through her mother. Her kinfolks attended their marriage ceremony. Parenthetically, Anna Trott died that same year at the advanced age of 76. The fourth Folger marriage involved John Folger, heir of Captain Jethro, and nephew of blacksmith Jonathan. He too chose a Cape girl. She was Rebecca Baker of Yarmouth, a transferred member of Sandwich Monthly Meeting whom he married in 1733, when the visiting committee included her parents. It might be well to observe that in addition to the five male Folgers wed in the decade that Captain Jethro and Mary (Starbuck) Folger witnessed the marriage of their daughter Anna in 1738 to James Mitchell of Newport as noticed in an earlier chapter. Earlier in 1732 Captain Jethro had buried his father, miller John Folger, one of the charter members of the meeting and the only one of the great Peter Folger's children to embrace Quakerism. He was 64 years of age at the time of his death.

The second family to receive attention are the Starbucks, and rather naturally because of the reference to Benjamin's death by drowning. He had married the aforementioned Dinah Coffin in 1730 in

the second marital attempt to unite Starbuck whaling and Coffin land interests into an effective combination, since Shubael and Priscilla had failed to achieve the proper adjustments. The prospects were again dashed by the unexpected sinking of uncle Thomas Hathaway's sloop. Benjamin's brother Tristram Starbuck had in 1729 already married Deborah Coffin, a daughter of miller Samuel, a useful connection. There were left only two others of the clerk's family to be married off advantageously. Ruth the elder wed in 1731/2 John Russell son of Deborah (Macy) Russell and nephew of the Macy brothers, and their whaling partners. This was the second Starbuck-Macy marriage union. Anna Starbuck, the younger daughter, was united to Peter Barnard son of the domineering Judith Wilcox in 1733/4 all told. Three of her children married Starbucks. After 1736 incidentally, Judith was a widow a third time, as her husband minister Stephen Wilcox departed this life in that year.

Jethro and Dinah Starbuck had two daughters as yet unwed in 1728. They were Jemina and Mary. Jemina married Silvanus Allen, brother of Nathaniel, in that year, under circumstances similar to those which involved her cousin Phebe (Coleman) Folger. Silvanus and Jemina's letter of apology was accepted the next summer thought the document was not fully expressive of their slip from grace. In it they desired "Mercy from God and begg forgivenesss from Ye people of God". Rose Tibbetts who preached at their marriage may have felt her position to have been awkward. Mary, Jemina's younger sister, was married to Richard Mitchell of Newport as earlier noticed.

The Starbuck weddings also properly include those arranged by the minister Priscilla (Starbuck)Coleman. Her fourth son Barnabas took to bed and board Elizabeth Barnard, another daughter of the ubiquitous Judith Wilcox. This was in 1728. In a year she was dead of childbirth,

and with the passage of another two years Barnabas remarried, choosing Rachel Hussey as his second bride. Rachel proved a true spiritual companion, as both became elders in the meeting. She was a daughter of Captain Silvanus Hussey by his first wife. Priscilla Coleman's third son, Jethro Coleman, was married in 1731 to a daughter of elder Ann Paddock. Like Barnabas, Jethro was also an elder. Two daughters next followed. There was Phebe who married Barzillai Folger under a cloud, and Priscilla, who should have been the favored seventh child. She chose Samuel Bunker, eldest son of elder Jabez for her husband. Both played an important role in the future life of the Friends meeting on Nantucket. Next came a son John Coleman III who married in the fall of 1738. It may be observed that his Quakerism was never very strong. The last child, a daughter, was not married till 1741.

New family names next came to hand. In the autumn of 1728 Caleb Stratton, through his mother a step-grandson of Elizabeth Cartwright, married Lois Odar, daughter of an emigrant from the Isle of Wight, but through her Folger mother a great-granddaughter of the matriarch Sarah Gardner. Apparently economically improvident, and possibly otherwise unstable, Caleb Stratton was hailed before the meeting for non-suppport of his widowed mother, Susanna Stratton, who joined Friends in 1742. Incidentally his grandmother, Elizabeth Cartwright, passed away in 1729, aged 91. A third new name appeared in 1728 when a certain Joseph Hamblen of places unknown was granted $200.00 because of his poverty. It may have been that he was an older man who had been attracted to the island because of whaling and was then in ill-health. He may well have subsequently left the island. The fourth new name was that of Hoag. Sarah Hoag came in 1729 with a certificate of transfer of

membership from Hampton Monthly Meeting from Streatham, New Hampshire to be exact, to marry Richard Worth, widower, and brother to William and to Joseph. Sarah (Hoag) Worth was a gifted minister as was her mother before her, and Richard became an honored elder as earlier noticed. Several off-island Friends, including her mother, attended their wedding meeting. The only other Worth wedding in the decade under question incidentally occurred in 1734/5 when Mary (Hussey) Worth Barnard's son John Worth was united to a daughter of a non-Quaker Coffin family. It happened that another Sarah Hoag, cousin to Richard Worth's wife married onto Nantucket in 1728. This Sarah came from Amesbury, Massachusetts, and was transferred by certificate from Hampton Monthly Meeting to marry Thomas Barnard, a nephew of the late Nathaniel Barnard, Jr.

With the marriage of the second Sarah Hoag we come to consider the changes in the Barnard family. In the autumn of 1729 there occurred the death of Benjamin Barnard, brother of the late Nathaniel, Jr. His last testament is interesting to examine because it reflects the tremendous increase of wealth which the "better sort" of Nantucketers accumulated in so short a time span as fifteen years. Benjamin's father-in-law left an estate of $36,000.00 just when the open sea whaling started. His son-in-law left over $15,000.00. Benjamin Barnards investments included the sloop Ranger, shares in wharfs, mills, sheep commons, a cooper shop, a shoemaker's shop, a house valued at $21,000.00, and extensive silverware. Benjamin's widow Judith (Gardner) Barnard, amply provided for by a chimney corner for life, saw to it that her children were well matched in marriage. Timothy, her eldest wed a Niece of Jabez Bunker in the winter of 1731/2, and though found guilty of "Som onadvised rash words", contents undisclosed, he was

allowed to pass meeting unobstructed. Abigail, her second child married Robert Macy, son of Treasurer Thomas that same winter. Ruth, her third, was united to Peter Clark, son of elder Thomas in 1734. The others waited till after 1738 to leave their mothers' household.

The autumn of 1729 brings the Swain family under consideration. George Swain, brother of the unstable William, took as wife one other of the daughters of Ann Paddock. Both were of that class which the colonials would call "the lesser sort." And they played no important Quaker role on the island. Then in 1736, a nephew of Williams and Francis Swain married yet another of the daughters of Ann Paddock. In this case her pregnancy was discovered a few days after they applied to be married. The elders got busy, so that by the date of their second appearance, they had gotten an apology in the hands of the proper overseers, who read it at a public First day meeting. Then forgiven, they stood up in monthly meeting, before it adjourned, and said their vows. In this case the baby was evidently stillborn, as no record of the birth was made.

Early in 1730 there occurred another marital irregularity when the same Robert Gardner who apologized profusely for pre-marital sex relations noticed in an earlier chapter, was married to Jedidah Folger, daughter of Captain Jethro and Mary (Starbuck) Folger. Robert was the first of his family to come among Friends. He was a nephew of miller Samuel Coffin. In 1733, a cousin David Gardner joined Friends. Through his father he was a nephew of Miriam Coffin, miller Samuel's wife, and through his mother he was a grandson of Stephen Coffin, holder of the troublesome 1664 deed. The latter relationship was more significant, for no more stormy role was played than that undertaken by David Gardner as the fearful consequence of Tristram Coffin's deed bore in upon the community. David married his cousin Mary Coffin, daughter of Samuel

and Mirian Coffin. Two years later in 1735, David Gardner's older brother Reuben Gardner followed him into the meeting. Reuben, a widower, then took as his second wife, a widow. Theodate (Gorham) Coffin, a Cape Codder originally, and sister to Lydia (Gorham) Worth. Her first husband had been a nephew of Captain Richard Coffin. Unlike David, Reuben cut no big figure in the meeting. A sister of David and Reuben Gardner has already been noticed in 1733 when she married David Joy, a widower formerly of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. Two others of the Gardner tribe were married in the decade under question. Neither, however, used Friends ceremony. They were Tristram and Uriah Gardner, brothers, and sons of Captain Ebenezer Gardner, the first Friend married under the care of Nantucket Meeting. In 1734/5 Tristram wed in Edgartown a non-Quaker Coffin of that place. And he probably settled there. Three years later, "boatwright" Uriah married by magistrate's ceremony a niece of William Swain, a Bunker, who was also a grand niece of Jabez Bunker. And in 1735/6 Eunice their sister married out of meeting a Pinkham, a non-Quaker nephew of Shubael. Already in 1734, overseer Jethro Gardner died, after 18 years active service in Nantucket Meeting. He was survived by his father James Gardner, wife Kezia, and mother-in-law Judith Wilcox. Three years later his widow was married to overseer Paul Starbuck, Ann (Tibbetts) Starbuck having passed away in 1736.

Two Friends died before the year 1730 was out, both of them connected with the Allen family. Joseph Coleman, grandfather to Nathaniel and Silvanus Allen and to Rachel (Allen) Starbuck, was also a very elderly uncle of John Coleman, Jr. The other death was that of Provided (Gaskell) Allen, wife of Nathaniel, still a young woman. In 1732, Nathaniel remarried but outside the meeting. His choice was a niece

of Sarah (Skiff) Long, a woman who drew him out of the Quaker orbit.

Next we come to the Jenkins family. In the autumn of 1730 Peter Jenkins, brother of Thomas, who had married out of the meeting, chose ~~elected~~ to marry Abigail Gardner, second sister of Tristram and Uriah Gardner. At least one of the first full-fledged Quaker brood on Nantucket elected to stay within the meeting. Joseph Jenkins, a third brother, wed Ann Macy, daughter of elder John in 1734/5. They went to live in Edgartown where they replaced the John Coffin's as the chief household for entertaining Nantucket Friends. Benjamin the fourth brother "died abroad" in 1732, probably on a whaling expedition. He was only sixteen. Bethiah, the first sister in the Jenkins family to marry, appeared with James Bunker, son of Elizabeth (Coffin)Bunker-Clark in 1737, at a ceremony where none other than Thomas Chalkley preached.

Other new names appeared on the meeting rools in 1731 when John Beard, formerly of Teignmouth in England appeared with Deborah Pease, through her mother descended from military puritans of Edgartown and Hampton, New Hampshire, and through her father, from Vineyard stock, and as well a great-niece of the Macy partners. Theirs was the last certificate recorded in the first book of marriage records (1709-1731). In 1737, a young uncle of Deborah Beard, Joseph Chase by name, came over from the Chase farm in ~~Chilmark~~ Tisbury on Marthas Vineyard to marry by Friends ceremony Miriam Coffin, a great niece of Dinah Starbuck, who went over the Sound to live at his home. Miriam (Coffin) Chase was a daughter of Bethiah (Macy) Coffin Renouff, who was in turn sister to the famous Macy partnership. Bethiah came among Friends in 1731, although her second husband, John Renouff, remained outside.

Miriam Chase's brother, Zaccheus Coffin, was the first Friend listed in "A Book of Records of the Certificates of ffriends Marriages

on the island of Nantucket by order of the meeting of ffriends of Said Island" in use from 1731 to 1755. Zaccheus was then marrying a daughter of Shubael Pinkham. We are now in an appropriate place to take up developments in the extensive Coffin family. At least two important unions were consummated. Damaris Coffin's son Nathaniel Coffin, Jr. entered the meeting in 1737 with his Newport bred and wed wife Mary (Sheffield) Coffin. She was an elegant woman of worldly quality, who did not fit easily into the rigid simplicity of the island. The other accession was by marriage when Peter Coffin, ward of George Hussey, married George's daughter Deborah. One can discover in this union, which occurred in 1737, a canny foresight on the part of the lawyer of the Starbuck interests. Peter Coffin was heir of the late Captain Paul Coffin, a man whose estate had been valued at $241,800.00. Peter's mother was Mary (Allen) Coffin-Pierce, wife of the wealthy Newport merchant Clothier Pierce, referred to in an earlier chapter. The Pierces were present for the wedding along with Peter's half brother Clothier Pierce, Jr.

The marriage of one of miller Samuel Coffin's daughters to Samuel Stanton of Westerly, Rhode Island, has already been noticed. At least five Coffin deaths next claim attention. One in 1732 took Libni Coffin, 19 year old son of miller Samuel, probably by some contageous epidemic. No monthly meeting was held that month in the early autumn, only three or four Friends having sallied forth to the new meetinghouse. Another death was that of Miriam (Macy) Coffin, young wife of the whaling magnate Zephaniah Coffin, and daughter of elder John Macy, Jr. As she left four motherless youngsters, Zephaniah remarried the next year, in 1737. His second wife was Solomon Coleman's daughter Abigail, his only child, by his first wife and the unfortunate

girl who had been left "waiting at the meeting" four years before by William Swan. And then there was the drunkard Shubael Coffin who died in 1737 tended at his lonely bed by his negro slave, Bristol, whom he freed in his will. All his wife Priscilla's property was ordered returned to her, while he left the bulk of his property to his brother Zephaniah, the whaling promoter. Priscilla, herself died of a broken heart the following year. Her uncle Stephen Coffin, Sr., died in 1734, as already carefully noticed.

In the autumn of 1733 John Hussey, heir of elder Batchellor, married Jedidah Coffin, sister of Miriam Chase and daughter of Bethiah Renouff. Three years before John's sister Mary had been wed out of meeting to a non-Quaker Swain, nephew of William. A third member of the family, Huldah, married her cousin Simeon Bunker, a son of Elizabeth Clark in 1734/5. All the other children went to Maine with their parents in 1737. One other Hussey household was formed in the decade under consideration when Captain Silvanus' son, Daniel, by his first marriage, wed on the Cape, probably under the care of Sandwich Monthly Meeting, a daughter of Elizabeth Gorham, formerly of Boston. They were received as members of meeting in 1735.

We come now to the numerous Macy clan. The first wedding to be noticed was that of Joseph Macy, heir of Treasurer Thomas who forsook good Quaker practice in 1727/8 to marry a certain Hannah Hobbs. Eventually most of their offspring, however, found their way back into the meeting. Robert his brother, we have observed marrying one of Judith Barnard's daughters. And Love was the girl to Marry Joseph Rotch. Francis the fourth child chose a daughter of Captain Richard Coffin in 1738, No others of Thomas Macy's children married till a good bit later. In 1734, Zaccheus Macy, destined to become first native-born physician and historian, married a daughter of Samuel and

Patience Gardner. Zaccheus was son of Richard Macy the wharfwright and outstanding democratic elder. Abraham Macy his next son married in the summer of 1738 a daughter of Joseph Worth. Again the remaining members of the family postponed marriage till after the 1728-1738 period. When we turn to the family of elder John Macy Jr. we meet with the second outstanding bachelor after Barnabas Starbuck. He was Seth, known in his latter years as "old chaunt"; possibly indicative of some pecularity in his personality. A second son, David, did marry in 1738/9, while a sister Ann has already been observed in a match with Joseph Jenkins. The other children married after 1738.

And finally, we come to scrutinize the Bunker family. Samuel's marriage has received notice. Next came his brother Paul, who wed a daughter of Samuel Gardner in 1736. Again the other children of Jabez Bunker were all married in the later years. Later a first cousin of Samuel and Paul, one George Bunker, son of Elizabeth Clark was married to a daughter of Joseph Worth. In this case the original declaration was not made at regular monthly meeting but, "at a Publick week Day Meeting of Friends...the 4 Day of the 3 mo 1738". Possibly a whaling trip necessitated speed. Certainly Abraham Macy who was married at this time said his vows on the day his intentions were repeated, a sure indication that he was bound overseas directly.

A summary of growth in Nantucket Meeting between 1728 and 1738, the era of peace and prosperity in Zion, reveals interesting facts and a few new trends. Membership enlarged from 315 to 550, which was accounted for chiefly by the natural increase of large families characteristic of the time. Approximately 225 children were born into the community and 45 persons joined the meeting. Seven Friends trans-

ferred their membership into the meeting, and three were transferred out upon joining the Society. Other losses include seven regular transfers of members to other meetings, one disownment and 30 deaths. As for marriages, there were 48 conducted by Nantucket Monthly Meeting, while six Friends "married out". Instead of consisting of about 70 families the meeting had grown to include 115. Growth was steady while the tendency to marry outside the meeting was showing an ominous increase. Philadelphia Monthly Meeting had begunto check marrying out as early as 1720, but a generation would pass before Nantucket would be as careful. The fact that Philadelphia was a generation older than Nantucket may prove an important element in the comparison. Philadelphia authorized 90 weddings between 1699 and 1724 in a quarter century period. Nantucket authorized 80 between 1713 and 1738 also a quarter century. Considering the Nantucket time-span here taken as an illustration, begins only a decade after Nantucket Meeting formed, and that the Philadelphia figures start two decades after its founding, there appears to be grounds to suggest the Nantucket Meeting was expanding at a greater rate of increase than was Philadelphia. Rhode Island Monthly Meeting by contrast was much slower of growth. In the quarter century from 1683 to 1708 there were but 26 Quaker weddings under the care of that meeting. And its age was slightly beyond that of Philadelphia when comparison of antecedent years are considered. Both Nantucket and Philadelphia appear to have been three times as vigorous as the meeting centered at Newport. Probably wealth was making greater inroads, though, in Philadelphia than in Newport. It is reported that nine-tenths of those who left the Society of Friends there joined the fashionable Episcopal Church. As early as 1708 one prominent Philadelphia Friend had justified

expensive ways of living, as a method whereby Quakers could more easily influence worldly people. Many Philadelphia Friends kept up town houses and country estates which were without equal in the colonies. Both Barclay and Penn held to notions that there should be classes and stations to be respected, albiet without worldly ceremony. In both instances the Calvinist concept of God's favoring those of "gentleman's" estate is plainly observable nonetheless. The meeting in Philadelphia was constantly cautioning against too elegant entertaining. And while horseracing, hunting and gambling were taboo, as well as dancing and the theatre, there were many tea parties, banquets, sleighing or boating parties, as well as clubs for philosophical and botanical discussions. John Adams when in Philadelphia complained of the "sinful feasts" of the Quakers. Funnily enough though plays could not be lawfully produced, they could be read aloud by parts in the family circle without incurring censure. It may be assured Nantucket was not yet drawn into as great worldly temptations in 1738 as was Philadelphia.

Records of the town and country of Nantucket do reveal a growing social complexity in the island community, however. The budget for the town's business had risen to the figure of $17,000 in 1736, and due to currency fluctuations the town paid a special bonus of $500 a piece to Thomas Macy, Treasurer, and Jethro Starbuck, his deputy for keeping accounts liquid. The provincial budget for the whole of Massachusetts in 1728 had come to only $80,000.00. The first recorder of deeds was chosen in 1739 as fee simple assigns were dealth with outside the jurisdiction of the Proprietary. And before the famous 1664 deed case was decided the Superior Court of Judicature traveled to the island to handle business on the spot. Such a legal possibility had been allowed in 1724 by the General Court.

Stray dogs had become a threat to the sheep herds so that all dogs were ordered killed on the island in 1734 and John Jr. and Thomas Macy with Zephaniah Coffin, the whaling magnate were authorized to search the island and fine every owner $40.00 per dog found alive. Four years later premiums were placed on the heads of the rats which infested the docking area. The Indians continued to steal or "borrow" goods. Among those before the courts procuring judgments against them were Thomas Clark, Samuel Barker, Captain Ebenezer Gardner, Daniel Folger and Thomas Jenkins. In the latter case the Indian had stolen goods from the Clark-Jenkins whaling warehouse. Two Indians, Sabo Nobby and Jo Nobby were hanged in 1736, though their crime is not recorded in the books. Actually the Indians were tried at Barnstable as the General Court in 1733 ordered all capital cases tried on the mainland because of travel uncertainties. Two cases regarding liquor came up. Joseph Marshall was accused inconclusively of making strong drink in 1736. Very probably it was the new Clerk's wife who was at fault as Abigail had been fined for such an offense earlier. Bethiah Barker, Samuel's wife, was likewise so accused. Only she was proved guilty of selling the liquor without a license.

Although Friends usually appeared in the Court as a group represented by a lawyer in their dealing with their non-Quaker neighbors. Yet, Daniel Folger appeared in 1738 to sue successfully from Joseph Worth, his fellow Quaker, the sum of $434.00 for default on a debt. And no action was taken by the meeting against either of them. The debtors court records reveal the extent of financial interest of the Nantucket merchants of the 1728-1738 period. Abishai Folger sued as early as 1729 for a debt owed him from Barbadoes. One case is of particular interest for Isaac Myrick, the wealthiest non-Quaker

whaler on the island during this period sued Captain Silvanus Hussey, the chief Quaker whaler, and builder of the meetinghouse for $6,170.00 which Hussey felt was above the fair price he agreed to pay Myrick for a brand new whaler Myrick had had built for him. Hussey had already paid $43,750.00 while Myrick claimed $49,920.00. The case went to Boston. Inflation and increasing length of whaling voyages were skyrocketing costs. By 1738, when this case was tried Nantucketers were capturing spermaceti whales off Greenland; the year before off Newfoundkand. The Newport outpost for sale of Nantucket whaling products was handled at the end of this decade by Jacob Barney who had married Judith Wilcox step-daughter. There is record of his supplying Silvanus Hussey with molasses from the merchandizing house of the Quaker Richardsons, some of whom had visited on Nantucket. The Richardsons were also actively in trade with Benjamin Bagnall, the outstanding Friend of Boston, and with the Pemberton brothers of Philadelphia. Evidence of rapidly increasing trade is apparent in the ledgers of Newport merchants, as elsewhere in colonial America.

Nantucket fortunes, however, were "small potatoes" compared to the fortune accumulated by Peter Fanuel, the bachelor Huguenot merchant of Boston who cleared $2,087,618.40 in 1733/4. Needless to say he broke the molasses act of that year. It was he who introduced the iron grate and marble fireplace into his native Boston, a town now typified by that merchant prince rather than the purifan Judge Samuel Sewall, who had dominated the town early in the 18th century. That town was growing steadily more worldly and complex. By 1733, each of the fire companies in the wards sets aparts in 1711 had their own fire engines. A work house for the indigent was established in 1735, following upon the example of the Friends Almshouse in Philadelphia

established in 1713. Innoculation for smallpox was initiated in 1730, and of all things a dancing school set up in 1735. And in 1742, the gay Episcopalians were included in the Quaker and Baptist exemption from Congregational Church tithes. In practice, however, the minority religious groups might still expect to suffer under the wording of town franchizes. In 1731 alone Salem Quarterly Meeting, which included Boston, recorded a loss of $5,922.00 so taken by town constables. On the whole, however, the era from 1728 to 1738 was one of toleration keeping pace with growing material prosperity.

The great era of prosperity brought an interesting cross-section of visitors to Nantucket island, a number of whom deserve at least cursory notice. The first of these appeared in the autumn of 1728 after parson White had baptized his first converts, nine persons in all. The visitors were brothers, Evan and John Evans from Gwynedd in the Welsh Tract near Philadelphia. Perhaps they had felt moved to carry some of the high plane of spirituality noted as achieved at New England Yearly Meeting recently held. Both were strong preachers: Evan "steady and inward", John exercising "judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet". With good reason he served on the 1755 committee to revise and strengthen the Philadelphia discipline.

The next distinguished traveler was a Yorkshireman by name Henry Frankland. He appeared at General Meeting in 1731 when he wrote in his journal "next got a pasage for Nantucket which is a Small Island but a Larg Mee^{ty} of Friends. We had two meetings with them which was Comfortable finding them in peace and love one with a nother." Frankland's is the first account after that of Samuel Bownas. Obviously the 1664 deed had not begun to trouble the community. After leaving Nantucket, Frankland traveled through the southern colonies

with John Richardson, the prophetic figure, and Daniel Stanton, Jr. a Stanton cousin of Philadelphia. Perhaps he brought word to the island that Dover Monthly Meeting, New Hampshire, had taken a stand advising against buying and selling of slaves, further development of the concern of Yearly Meeting in 1727.

The year after the Great Meetinghouse on Nantucket was occupied, and incidentally Benjamin Franklin began to issue his Poor Richard's Almanac, there came to Nantucket a certain Mungo Bewley, a great minister and wise elder from Edenderry Monthly Meeting Kings County, Ireland. Bowden describes him as a "man of superior qualifications, of a noble mind, and discerning spirit." His companion was Samuel Stephens another Irishman of Lambstown Monthly Meeting. They with their companions visited the women's monthly meeting on Nantucket. As for the General Meeting which they attended, they reported it a peaceful quiet season "& in Ye General a Good Meeting." A month later appeared a certain Alice Alderson of Yorkshire, who elicited the dubious comment that "though for from possessing much human learning, was copious in expressions well adapted to her subject." Still another unusual figure in 1733 was a certain Martha Pettel of Boston, an eccentric spinster Friend, who was supported by the Pemberton family of Philadelphia, where she removed in 1748. Martha may well have brought the first copies of the new Boston Weekly Post to be seen on the island.

The next year 1734 brought a number of persons interested to view the meeting and its new meetinghouse. Among them was Zachariah Nixon of Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, the second Carolina Friend to reach Nantucket. A second was William Backhouse of Sedburgh Monthly Meeting, Yorkshire, a Friend "concerned for God's honour."

With his companion John Burton of the same meeting, they proved a "great help to Friends", so the record goes. This John Burton like Alice Alderson had "little humane learning", "but in matter exceedingly copious and pertinent." A third foreign visitor at the General Meeting was Joseph Gill, a careful elder, native of Cumberland, but then member of Dublin Monthly Meeting, Ireland, who was "highly gifted in the administration of discipline". He wrote in his Journal, "Embark'd for Ye Island of Nantucket and was at their yearly meeting on Ye Island...having found a very large meeting of Friends," where were several "comfortable seasons". They reported a remarkable growth in the ministry in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, where in the two years following the building of the Nantucket meetinghouse, more than 100 new ministers had been recorded. Lydia Norton, the 1723 visitor from Amesbury was again present, and recorded as especially useful, the General Meeting having been "a good meeting & to general satisfaction."

In 1735 when Captain Silvanus Hussey had filled his first ledger of accounts in his counting house opened in 1724, there came to Nantucket, the same Daniel Stanton, Jr., of Philadelphia who had traveled south with Henry Frankland. He wrote "I was kindly taken home by Nathaniel Starbuck whose heart and house were open to receive the messengers of Christ. On this island I met with a great number of choice exemplary Friends....." Daniel was son of a man by that name in Newport, his mother having been a sister of Thomas Chalkley. Having been drawn into his uncle's business, he married into the aristocratic Quaker Lloyd family. As early as 1708 he had traveled with Samuel Nottingham to Barbadoes and in subsequent years he was closely associated with John Woolman and the reforming party in Philadelphia Quakerism. It will be recalled his cousin Samuel Stanton had

married onto Nantucket during the winter preceeding. Daniel Stanton, Jr., was, without doubt, one of the strongest personalities in the 18th Century Society of Friends. Although Stephen Coffin, Sr., had died, as yet no upheaval had occurred.

Although Nantucket Meeting business was in the doldrums by 1736, there was no slackening off of traveling Friends. One who appeared in the spring was a Welshman, Arthur Jones of Gwynedd, the old Evans stronghold. Apparently rash and over-zealously critical, he was publicly condemned by an English Friend when he traveled abroad later in the year 1736, and the Yearly Meeting of Ministers refused to grant Arthur Jones a returning minute till he apologized to those whom he had hurt. The circumstance is interesting as it shows clearly that English and American modes of expression were already divergent enough to allow for major misunderstanding. The eleven other visitors of this season were all Quarterly Meeting Friends.

In 1737, John Fothergill who had first been on the island thirty years before returned to observe the phenomenal growth evident. Information of note which he may well have brought was that the first Quaker anti-slavery tract subsequent to Elihu Coleman's work had just appeared from the pen of Benjamin Lay in Philadelphia. Also he might have known that in the years since 1727, nine monthly meetings had been established in America and the first to be discontinued had been laid down on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The foregoing fifteen Friends plus John Richardson, whose return has been treated in a foregoing chapter constitute the chief luminaries in a company of 75 visitors in the 1728-1738 period.

The placid calm of mid-18th century Quakerism was to continue without radical break in the decade following 1738, despite the

war outside the Nantucket community and the potential fraternal strife within. The pioneering qualities of the earlier years had been almost entirely disapated, a fact which will become more obviously evident as the story unfolds.

CHAPTER 11

Era of King George's War
1738-1748

The decade of secure peace and abundant prosperity enjoyed by Nantucketers was brought to a rude conclusion in 1739 when a certain slaver, a Captain Jenkins, appeared before the English Parliament to recite how one of his ears had been severed by the irate Spanish authorities. He had abused the asiento regulations on the importation of slaves. After displaying the ear, which he had carefully preserved in alcohol, the English government felt free to declare war on Spain. And within a year the colonial quarrel had proliferated into that European maelstrom we call the War of the Austrian Succession. France as usual was found to be England's enemy and New England with its precious maritime trades was again endangered by French activities in a colonial struggle known as King George's War.

Nantucket had most to fear from French pirateering especially as the sperm whale fishing grounds were openly exposed to French-Canadian ports. War also played havoc as it always does with prices and markets. And finally there was the danger of property taxes and conscription for militia, against which there were Quaker objections. Taken in reverse order, the problem of military defense first came to a show-down in Twelfth Month of 1740, when Quaker counsel prevailed and Sherbourne town meeting voted down a proposal to fortify the island. The Quaker argument was that the French would not be liable to molest a known neutral place, one which gave no aid to French enemies. But to mollify the war party, the same day the town voted to equip a voluntary militia company. Apparently there were no scruples raised by the more alert Friends regarding paying taxes

for the support of what was at least a very unpacific gesture. No doubt there was anxious inquiry as to what had been done in similar instances in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. Fortunately a year before a decision had to be reached on Nantucket, the islanders were visited by Michael Lightfoot (1683-1754) member of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Committee to advise against warlike activities. An Irish Quaker who migrated to New Garden in 1712, he was part of the original Nottingham Monthly Meeting membership in 1730, and a very "solemn and impressive" minister of 14 years standing. Lightfoot was an overseer of the Quaker press in Philadelphia, and chairman of t he 1743 Query Committee. He could give much practical advice and information. Nantucket needed such a visitor as Rhode Island Friends were anything but clear in the matter of warlike activities. For instance in 1704 William Wanton had captured three French privateers while sailing under his own privateer's papers. Later Governor Walter Clarke had granted letters of marque and reprisal to men who were virtually pirates. Some reform had taken place largely because of the protests of Samuel Bownas. But 1739 witnessed a notable revival of the practice of privateering from the home base in Newport, though Friends may not have been directly involved. Rhode Island Quakerism had all it could do to keep from active participation in warlike measures. Apparently they had far to do till they should explore the tortuous maze of conscientious objection. There was wisdom in the Yearly Meeting decision of 1745 to request that each constituent monthly meeting in New England spread in its minutes that portion of the 1744 London Epistle which condemned investing in, or taking part in privateering, or traveling with "letters of marque", as "a Flagrant

and lamentable Departure from our peaceable Principle", the participant to be consequently disowned. When the advice was produced on Nantucket, Friends there were evidently free of the lamentable departure.

In Pennsylvania, the pacifist record was much clearer. Friends there had developed definite techniques for dealing with anti-Quaker governors, and pro-Anglican proprietors. When the War of Jenkins' Ear burst upon them, the governor of Pennsylvania seized all indentured servants in order to make up the military company he could not get authorized by the Provincial Assembly. In 1742 in order to guarantee the election of an anti-pacifist legislature, he attempted to keep Friends from the polls. The plan failed. But to make peace the Assembly voted a gift of $200,000.00 to King George for use of supplies, corn and other grain. Friends winked at the kind of grain purchased, gunpowder to be exact, for the further equipping of voluntary companies. The grain vote accurred in 1744 and was repeated in 1745 with an additional $50,000.00 generously included. The pattern followed in Pennsylvania during the course of King Williams' War was similar to that compromise arrived at on Nantucket in 1740; specifically, to refuse to sponsor military activity as the policy of a Quaker dominated government; but to respect the viewpoint of those citizens who did not embrace the pacifist way of life. At least one prominent Quaker condemned the foregoing course. In 1741, Robert Jordan, Nantucket visitor of a generation earlier urged the withdrawal of Quakers from the government of Pennsylvania to allow those who felt themselves to be unprotected, freedom to build their own forts and military companies. And at least one Rhode Island Friend took an even more consistent stand when he advocated the withdrawal of

Friends from the government of Rhode Island because of the spiritual decline encouraged by compromise to principle involved.

At any rate Nantucket Monthly Meeting was free of the problem of conscientious objection to military service, a difficulty which beset neighboring Sandwich Monthly Meeting in 1748, when Hatsell O'Kelley, one of their Yarmouth local meeting members was impressed for military duty in Fifth Month. He was given sentence of six months imprisonment in the fall, and a fine of $9.20 new tenor, which was paid by the meeting. O'Kelley's stand came partly in response to a Sandwich minute of 1742 complaining about "a cowardly spirit about training". One further word about payment of taxes is appropriate here. In the first place taxes were frequently collected in kind. The only commonly circulating coins were Spanish pieces of eight, commonly called dollars. Paper money was an uncertain depreciating medium. Consequently the tax collector combined his function with that of auctioneer. No doubt Mary Starbuck's Indian bureau functioned in part as a purchasing agency of taxed goods, an arrangement which gave the town the ready money it needed. It was a bit difficult to envisage a portion of woolen goods taken by the tax collector, as the sinews of war. And then taxation was scandalously little anyway. All colonial taxes combined took about $8.00 from each citizen. Property assessments usually ran about $8.00 per $1,000.00 valuation. Special excise taxes on luxuries imposed in 1737 as concomitant to the Molasses Act of that year were of little use. Poll taxes were hardly more advantageous as they were generally so high as to discourage the generality of people from bothering with the suffrage right. All things considered, payment of monies to equip a military company which would probably never see service, appeared as an inconsistency well overlooked.

The really upsetting consequence of the war was the rapid increase in the standard of living. Staple goods in 1740 cost perhaps five times what they did in 1712. The whaling industry must needs produce at least five times the profits it had before taking to the high seas. And by 1747 the cost of living was twelve times what it had been in the days of Queen Anne. During the same period exchange rates between English and Colonial currencies steadily depreciated from the colonial viewpoint. They had been at par in the year 1700, had declined 270% in 1722, 500% by 1737 and 1100% in 1749 when the war concluded.

The instability of paper money as it functioned within the uneconomic framework of the mercantile system was largely responsible for the increasingly unhappy state of affairs. Paper money issues totalling $4,100,000.00 to finance King Williams' War were redeemed by the Province. But the money issue of $10,250,000.00 issued during Queen Anne's War remained outstanding, and was, though depreciated still in circulation in 1740. In 1733 a group of Boston merchants combined to form an unathorized bank which issued $5,500,000.00 in paper money to facilitate the vastly increased business transactions characteristic of the period. A further issue of $7,500,000.00 appeared in 1740 from the same source. Although private banks had been in the habit of issuing paper notes from the year 1711 when such means had been employed to finance, a Nova Scotia military expedition, still Governor Jonathan Belcher was sworn to eliminate paper money from Massachusetts. This he did in 1741 by his famous "Bubble" legislature which brought ruin and insecurity, and almost a violent revolution in its wake.

In the middle of the excitement Belcher left and Massachusetts

calmed itself under the leadership of the one great colonial figure appointed to tend its affairs in the 18th Century. Governor William Shirley had foresight and intelligence enough to realize that given the circumstances, paper money was essential to colonial political health. When he arrived all but $1,500,000.00 of paper maney had been retired, while at the same time, there were $16,000,000.00 in uncollectable back taxes owed the state, taxes in arrears to infinitely more than should back the current paper money. Immediately Governor Shirley issued $5,276,250.00 in fiat paper, with which to redeem old tenor notes, that is those issued after 1733 at one-third their original value. The situation was saved temporarily. Altogether within two years $35,000,000.00 in additional paper money was issued. Finally a sense of direction was achieved after the success of the Louisbourg capture in 1745 when the General Court voted to resume silver payments to enlisted personnel and military contractors for the year 1748 totalling $9,182,450.00. The preceeding arrangement was made possible by an act of Parliament whereby 217 chests of Spanish silver and 10 truckloads of 10 casks each of copper coins were donated to the Province of Massachusetts. It was a memorable sight when they arrived in Boston in the Seventh Month of 1749. Parliament also decreed that one Spanish dollar was to equal $90.00 in paper shillings old tenor. As a Spanish dollar was worth about $12.00 in our currency, the old money had depreciated to about one-seventh of its original value. As for middle tenor notes Parliament decreed that one Spanish dollar should be worth $23.20 in paper shillings and pence. In this case the depreciation was only one-half of the original value. Governor Shirley was able to implement successfully his sound money policy a year after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle was signed thus terminating a decade of extreme uncertainties

at least as far as Nantucket business ventures were concerned. That Shirley's policy was wrecked completely by the presently ensuing Seven Years War is no reflection upon his astute performance, both during the war as a modus vivendi, and after the war as an approach to a permanent solution. By way of final footnote to Shirley's success we observe that Massachusetts raised $1,300,000.00 in taxes in 1738 and $1,950,000.00 in 1748.

Just how did this uncertain financial policy affect Nantucket, especially as regards the whole fishery? Naturally costs of all equipment skyrocked and especially as penalties were placed in 1738 on the forging of all iron implements in the colonies as already noticed. Once a ship was outfitted, it ran the extra risk of running upon French armed vessells. And certainly the Quaker whaler was unarmed. Markets were difficult. One hesitated to accept paper money which depreciated materially before it could be spent again for new equipment. As for shipping oil and bone abroad, the most unfavorable exchange was steadily undercutting any profitable trade especially after 1741. Despite the uncertainties involved, one visitor Edmund Peckover, from old England, reported in 1742 that Nantucket "Had the largest fishing season last year [1741] that was ever known, catching Sperma Cuti whales. I was told the island had then cleared for that season about £ 20,000 Sterling"($1,000,000.00). Conditions, however, materially depreciated, the next few years. Finally in 1745 in response to desperate requests from Nantucket transmitted through the General Court, the Board of Trade offered $80.00 bounty per ton of whale oil sold in the home country parts. Immediately the industry came out of its years of doldrums and 10,000 barrels were transhipped to London from Boston netting $800,000.00 which went for to cover the losses experienced and to encourage further expansion of the

industry. To illustrate the price difficulties encountered early in the decade we note that a ton of whale oils sold for $926.00 in 1742; for $716.00 in 1743, and only $500.00 in 1744. In contemplating the rapid decline, which indicates on the face of things a halving of the purchase price, it is well to bear in mind that quotations may have been made progressively in new tenor notes, which may even indicate a rise in prise. At any rate an awkward uncertainty existed, and trade was naturally correspondingly curtailed. In fact conditions were so poor that Nathaniel Starbuck withdrew from active leadership of his whaling business in the summer of 1744, leaving his partners to carry on under the chairmanship of Caleb Macy son of one of Starbuck's original partners, and a promising young Quaker businessman. Death at sea took a large toll of lives during the decade of King George's War. Some were lost in the dangerous art of whaling, others when whole sloops either foundered or became prey to the enemy French. In the first category was Thomas Howes III, offspring of the broken honeymoon of the very gay Abigail (Hussey) Howes, later Marshall. This Thomas, son-in-law by "shotgun" marriage to the clerk's daughter finished his life as his father in the watery Quaker graveyard of Nantucket. That was in 1739. In the spring of 1740 George Bunker's sloop went down with young Elisha Folger aboard, son of Daniel and grandson of Judith Wilcox.

In 1743, the sloop manned by Daniel Paddock was lost with all hands. Daniel was of Cape origin, kin of the man who brough the art of whaling over to Nantucket in 1690. Only one other meeting member was counted in his crew of six or seven. He was George Macy, youthful son of elder Jabez Rotch abandoned a whaling sloop outside Boston to a French privateer. Relying on the strong oars of his crew they

MACY AND GRANDSON OF JETHRO STARBUCK. A YEAR LATER JOSEPH

put into port, where he set in motion attempts to ransom back his craft. After 1743 the cutting and boiling down of blubber was undertaken at sea, two great cast-iron pots flat-sided to each other, serving the purpose. No doubt the hazards of returning shoreward to Nantucket helped speed the change, and then time was saved for a two voyage season, which was becoming necessary from the uncertain economic conditions of the times. The winter before Joseph Rotch took to his whaleboats, two young men lost their lives at sea, one Nathaniel Barnard III, son of Judith Wilcox, was chief heir of the Barnard house. The other, Tristram Gardner was son of Captain Ebenezer and grandson of minister Nathaniel Gardner. Incidentally the meeting went into the probate business with its assumption of the responsibility of settling the estate of the Barnard heir in 1746. Jethro Starbuck was chairman of a most impressive committee which included Richard Macy, Barnabas Gardner, Elihu Coleman and Benjamin Coffin.

The autumn of 1744 produced a particularly heartbreaking tragedy when the day after he laid his intentions of marriage before the meeting, Peter Folger son of Daniel Folger was drowned, when a terrible storm engulfed their sloop on its way to Cape Cod. The father was drowned also, and as well two non-Friends and four Indians.

By 1746 war and the scarcity of whales had driven the Nantucket off-shore industry as far north as Greenland and the Davis straits. Only four whales were taken in the New England waters. Each sloop now carried two whale boats and nearly always a crew numbering a baker's dozen. That year a sloop comingin from Boston got out of control, and coming in on a flood tide was soon stranded high and dry on Coatue. There she had to be salvaged, and her timbers left to bury themselves in the sand. Another sloop en route from the open

seas, this time, was captured by a Frenchman, transferred to Spanish jurisdiction and flag, and then brought into Philadelphia by neutral agents who procured ransom money, which eventually reached the French captors. By this time the Quaker garb and speech had become so effectively associated with honesty and punctuality to promises, that the Quaker whaler usually got his sloop back, some time after he signed on the dotted line of his promisory note.

A second instance of quick seizure and eventual recovery occurred in 1747 when elder Jabez Bunker's son Captain Peter Bunker was taken prisoner off the Virginia capes, i.e. the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay. In this case we know that the ransom paid came to $9,600.00. At least five Quaker sloops were abandoned during the decade, at a loss hardly under $50,000.00. As we survey the economic problem of the war years, the foregoing large figure in red ink must receive proper attention. Apparently in the years before King George's War, no Quaker-owned Nantucket vessell had been lost. Many of the more pious or superstitious Friends must have seen a judgment of God placed upon them.

In 1748, however, was signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle and with it, came the information that the Board of Trade had extended its policy of bounties on oil sold direct to the old country, to embrace rebates to purchasers of whaling equipment and whaling voyage shares. Here was a veritable bonanza, taxation invented as it were. Nantucket entered her heyday of the 18th Century whale fishery, an era which continued, despite the staggering blows of the Seven Years War, right up to the American Revolution. A quick glance at the industry centered on Nantucket in 1748 reveals sixty sloops each ranging from fifty to seventy-five tons bringing in 1,420 1/3 tons of oils at a

value of $984,200.00, plus the possible bounty of $11,386.00. Once again Nantucket settled into a period of fabulous boom which made the pre-war years seem only mildly prosperous by contrast. But all was not well on the island and particularly in the Quaker community. Even the occasional visiting Friend noticed the gradual change from a simple unified fellowship as wealth and worldly-standards mated with Proprietary dissentions to breed a generation only too wise in the world's ways. As early as 1741, John Churchman, a prominent journalist of Nottingham Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania was anxious for the meeting "for although some tender-spirited Friends lived on the island, there was a libertine spirit secretly at work among others (encouraging) ease and liberty." Incidentally, Churchman came close to being listed among the casualties of these very uncertain years. On his trip to Nantucket, the sloop on which he traveled was all but awash after a three day and two night storm. The third morning the stricken craft was sighted from Nantucket town. Whaleboats were put out and the passengers and crew rescued just, as the sloop struck and broke up off Coatue Beach. That day it being General Meeting Seventh Day, John Churchman promptly changed his clothes and mounted to a high seat in the gallery. We wonder if his sermon equalled that which launched Ishmael on his Moby Dick career.

Symptomatic of the gradual change which was destined to erupt in the great meeting crisis of the decade of the Seven Years War, was the marked worsening of relationships with the Indians. Goaded by sharp practices, and unsympathetic courts, at least a group of them rose in the fall of 1738 to attempt to destroy the town. Whatever happened the abortive attack was followed by deepen mistrust between the races.

In 1741, they made an appeal to the General Court, which brought them some relief five years later. For one thing provincial overseers of Indian hands were named. Finally in 1747 Abishai Folger, great-grandson of the Indian's friend Peter Folger, became representative of Nantucket County in the General Court of the Province. Not the most consistent Friend on Nantucket he did hold at least the respect of the aboriginal natives, whose views he carried to Boston on various occasions, though in 1747, he served on a town committee with Richard Coffin to inform the General Court that the Indians were not entitled to the full injuries which they had claimed. As evidence of the increased tensions the years between 1738 and 1747 were marked by a number of public hangings; Indians, of course, being those executed. After Sabo Finch had been executed in 1704 there were only two hangings on the island till 1739.

In 1739, Happy Comfort, was unlike his name strangled, his crime unknown. Five years later in 1744 Jeremy Jude was tried and executed at Barnstable on Cape Cod. The place was made necessary by the hazard of water travel during war time. Murder was the charge this time, the victim having been one Simon Aaron. 1745 witnessed the execution of John Comfort, perhaps brother of Happy, though the nature of the crime and the location of the execution are both unknown to us.

Within the meeting membership itself there was a general weakening of the discipline, at least if we take note of the increase of marriages outside the care of the meeting. Apparently little effort was made to reclaim such delinquents to the Quaker way of life. The most usual reason given for a wedding performed by a magistrate was that a baby was due, the marriage was in fact consummated. It was indeed awkward to go through the form of Quaker committee inquiry in

such cases, and of course embarrassing to have one's confession of weakness read publicly. There were six such marriages out of meeting in the 1728-1738 decade, and a dozen in the succeeding ten year period. The membership median for the earlier period was 430 and for the latter time span, 680. The natural increase for out-of-meeting marriages on the basis of membership growth would have been only four, making a total on nine, rather than the twelve encountered. In most cases the participant retained an inactive membership in the meeting, while his children frequently came under the care of Friends when they married a generation later. In a few cases the children were raised Congregationalists, a situation more often encountered in a mixed marriage with a Vineyarder. Only in one such case in the latter decade was disciplinary dealing carried out. The occasion was made when Dinah Folger daughter of blacksmith Jonathan Folger and granddaughter of Minister Nathaniel Gardner wed Stephen Chase of Chilmark in 1742 and then sent in a few lines to clear herself of pre-marital relations a year later. Altogether three such apologies were received in order "to clear Truth and the Professors thereof" in the years from 1738 to 1748.

Relations with the Vineyard as regard marriages appears to have been unique in the Quaker world. If a Vineyarder wished to marry according to good Quaker order, he or she got a statement of clearness from the town clerk of Edgartown, Tisbury or Chilmark as the case happened to be and then proceeded to Nantucket town to complete proper arrangements. The Vineyard was definitely considered to be within the bounds of Nantucket Monthly Meeting as was demonstrated in the winter of 1739-1740 when a Sarah Jernegan, hitherto-non Friend of Edgartown, married Philip Tabor, tax collector of Darmouth,

to which town she removed. The marriage was arranged for and held in the Nantucket meetinghouse. In the case of Samuel Coffin, son of Tristram and grandson of John Coffin of Edgartown, the meeting minutes include a document from John Norton, puritan clerk of Edgartown, noting that bans for the said Samuel had been published. Naturally letters of permission were also received from his non-Quaker parents. The same arrangements were made a year later in 1745 when Tristram Coffin, Jr. of Edgartown married. And a third brother, Jonathan Coffin, was similarly married under Nantucket meeting in 1747.

In addition to Vineyard marriages there were a number of contemporary weddings connecting Nantucket with the mainland. The first of these was in 1739 when Benjamin Fish of Dartmouth took Priscilla Arthur, newly-convinced, to his Buzzards Bay home. Priscilla's great-grandmother had been Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner. Sarah Varney, probably a Starbuck descendant of Dover, New Hampshire, stayed on that fall to attend the wedding. The second marriage came in the spring of 1740 when Jabez Bunker's nephew David Bunker married Elizabeth Gorham of Barnstable on Cape Cod. Her mother was the granddaughter of Mary Starbuck who had lost her house by fire in Boston in 1717. A second daughter of this household, Lois Gorham, married Jonathan Macy, son of the elder John Macy, Jr., in 1744 and removed to the Cape to live. In the fall of 1740 two off-island connections were made. Twins, sisters of Caleb Stratton, were married the same day. One Hannah wed Joshua Shearman, and went to live at his home in Dartmouth. The other Miriam brought her husband James Perry, native of Westerly, Rhode Island, but later resident of Sandwich, Massachusetts, onto the island. James' mother was the same Eliphel Perry who had been previously on the island in the ministry, and later married a Sandwich Harper.

A year later William Russell, son of Deborah (Macy) Russell, then a member of Falmouth Preparative and Sandwich Monthly Meetings got permission from his local meeting to marry Mary Coleman, Priscilla's daughter. He then returned to Nantucket, not strictly speaking an off-island marriage, the interesting circumstance to be noted is that clearness was granted by a Preparative rather than a regular disciplinary body.

In 1742, Richard Beard of Teignmouth in old England, brother of John, already settled on Nantucket, arrived with a certificate of transfer of membership and took Eunice Macy, elder Jabez's daughter as his wife. Nearly the same time Clothier Pierce, Jr., whose father had married a Nantucket second wife, wed Lydia Hussey, daughter of lawyer George and granddaughter of Nathaniel Starbuck. The Princes were substantial Newport Friends as before observed. The permission he received from parents and meeting was underscored by letters of recommendation form John Casey of Swansea and Clark Rodman, the most elegant Quaker grandee of all Newport. This couple left the island as might be expected.

The fall of 1744 brought Edmund Heath, Jr., into the meeting by marriage to Judith Folger daughter of that branch of the Folgers who married into the Chases of ~~Chilmark~~ Tisbury originally. The Heaths were English and French-Canadian in origin, and had come into a large estate in 1738. Then Jonathan Gwinn came on the island from Salem in 1746 when he took Solomon Coleman's daughter Elizabeth to wife. A year later his brother John moved on to marry Eunice Russell, daughter of the non-Quaker Russell family on the island. The last off-island marriage involved Rueben Coffin, son of the schoolteacher Benjamin who chose Mary Joy of Dartmouth as his life-long companion in 1747.

She was sister to Reuben Joy, who initiated the name on Nantucket the decade before, and cousin through her mother to Philip Tabor. In all the foregoing off-island unions, the off-islanders were Friends except in the case of the Gwinns, and they came onto Nantucket to make their fortunes less successfully it happened than was done by their prototype Joseph Rotch.

Though the meeting received some new blood, and gave some of its sons and daughters freedom to leave, still its leadership remained pretty much in the hands of the same small coterie. The clerkship of the men's meeting remained in the hands of Joseph Marshall till his sudden death in the late spring of 1748 when he was replaced by Captain Silvanus Hussey, builder of the great meetinghouse. Incidentally in the spring of 1739 a platform with posts and roof shelter was constructed about the "fore-doors" of the meetinghouse. The contract went to Richard Macy the wharf-builder this time. No doubt the frightful tempest of the month before, even though late in "April", militated in favor of shelter. The women had noted in their minutes "it proving a very Sevier Storms not one fd. able to go out."

At the same time the porch was built , the front yard of the meetinghouse was completely paved with flat cobblestones, both to keep down dust and to eliminate mud in rainy spells. The clerkship of the women's meeting continued in the person of Dorcas Starbuck till General Meeting time in 1743 when failing health caused that well-educated elder to turn the pen over to her sister-in-law Priscilla Coleman, another recipient of superior educational advantages. Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck died in the winter of 1747-1748 aged 72 years. Her widower, Jethro Starbuck, survived her by the startling

time-span of a quarter century. No proper memorial was ever drawn for the woman who served so adequately as first clerk of Nantucket Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, and in that office for 35 years. She was an elder often entrusted with epistolary and oversight duties, and as well an extensive marriage counsellor. Her children were active Friends, one of them, her son William Starbuck, a strong minister.

The leadership of the select or morning meeting of Ministers and elders on Nantucket remained in the figure of the aging autocrat Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., at least till 1748 when he was probably replaced by his nephew Elihu Coleman. One important development during the decade was the admission of women in 1740 into the business sessions of the Select Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia. Such a radical departure in the interests of equality was followed in 1745 by the New England recommendation that women should share equally in the station of elder with men appointees. Hitherto women appointees were regarded more as overseers, and though allowed to attend select meeting they were not expected to be vocal.

The ministry needed to be strengthened as was noticed in 1743 at Quarterly Meeting. "Weak" was the word used to describe the condition to which care was being given on Nantucket. Such an adjective might well have been expected, considering the tensions within the meeting. As far as we know the following were the ministering Friends during the decade: Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., Priscilla Coleman, Nathaniel Coleman, Elihu Coleman, William Starbuck, Richard Mitchell, Jr., Sarah (Starbuck) Barney, Sarah (Hoag) Worth, Priscilla (Coffin) Bunker and Hephzibah (Starbuck) Hussey. There was a distinct lack of new names, and especially of those others than

members of the dominant family and their connections. Richard Mitchell, Jr. got a minute in the fall of 1738 to visit the families of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting in a religious way. The minute was drawn by John Macy, Jr., and Richard Worth elder and overseer respectively. Nantucket apparently approved of her adopted Newport son. The one other minute granted for travel in the ministry went to the brothers Nathaniel and Elihu Coleman who had prospect of visiting Philadelphia in the fall of 1746. A much more extensive journey was completed however in the summer of 1740 when Philip Pollard an elder visited his home meeting in old England, returning with eleven copies of Barclay's Apology, and many samples of recent Quaker publications which he had picked up in Bristol before sailing for the colonies. No doubt he was reimbursed by the meeting. As far as we know he carried no certificate from Nantucket Meeting.

The list of elders in Nantucket meeting is more difficult to assemble, largely because the function of "visitor" was dividing into those who counselled ministers and were especially concerned with spiritual life i.e. the elders' and those who counselled the membership and were especially concerned with community relationship i.e. the overseers. However we do know that Jethro Starbuck was considered the chief elder. His wife Dorcas was an elder as was Nathaniel's wife Dinah Starbuck. Then there was John Coleman, Jr. who sat head of the men's meeting. When Priscilla Coleman became the women's clerk, Anna (Folger) Starbuck came to sit head of the women's meeting. To the memory of this elder attaches the reputation of her being the outstanding dominating woman personality on the island after Mary Starbuck. She was the chairman of the "Judith Wilcox holding Company", and possibly more responsible than any other individual for the

deepening clash within the meeting membership. Judith Wilcox, herself, was an elder. Another widow was Experience Coffin. Both John Macy, Jr. and his wife Judith Macy were elders. His brothers Richard and Jabez Macy were elders and as well the latter's wife Lydia Macy. Mary (Gardner) Jenkins and Mehitabel (Gardner)Pollard, Jethro and Mary Folger, Benjamin Barney, Barnebas Coleman, Judith Barnard, Joseph Marshall, Jemina Coleman, (Elihu's wife), Jethro Coleman, Jabez Bunker, Philip Pollard, Silvanus Hussey and Thomas Starbuck were also contained in the list. There were at least twenty-six elders to assist ten ministers in the meeting.

There remains for us to reconstruct the list of overseers for the decade under scrutiny. As far as we know these were the appointees: Paul Starbuck; Hannah Bunker; Barnabas Gardner; Ann Paddock; Richard Worth; Anna Gardner; Deborah Folger; Mary Folger; Benjamin Coffin; Kezia Starbuck; Matthew Barnard; Hephzibah Barnard; Jonathan Gardner; Mary Coleman; Phebe Folger; David Gardner; Abigail Pinkham; Leah Paddock; Lydia Paddock; Jonathan Folger; Peter Barnard; Samuel Bunker; Mary Barnard; Rachel Coleman; Ann Jenkins; Bethiah Renauff and Zaccheus Macy. At least twenty-seven overseers raised the complement of specially designated Friends to over sixty persons. This leaves us with one other group of officers unaccounted for, those who had to do with the finances respectively of men's and women's meetings. As might be expected, the uneasy condition in the area of colonial currency was reflected by an unusual number of financial entries in the meeting's minutes.

It will be recalled that Nathaniel Starbuck assumed the treasurer's position about the time the meetinghouse was building. Apparently he kept his financial accounts in a ledger now lost. Consequently it is

difficult to compare adequately the finances for the twenty year period ending 1748 with the preceeding twenty year period closed out in 1728. In the earlier era men Friends collected $3,250.00 for general purposes, an average monthly collection of about $13.50. In the later era they collected $5,550.00 at an average collection of $23.15 monthly (or considering actual recorded payments, the high figure of $40.55 monthly). Women Friends raised $4,900.00 before 1728, or an average collection of about $20.30; considerably better than the men's record for those years. Between 1728 and 1748 the women raised $4,975.00, a monthly average of $20.70 which whatever way viewed was less than the men raised, and actually less than they raised in the earlier period. When we realize that the mean figure of membership for the first generation stood at 270 and for the second generation at 555, we get fuller perspective on the general finances for both eras. If the original standard of giving had been maintained the later monthly averages should have doubled the earlier figures. Such being the case it is obvious the women reduced their giving by half. The men, however, better than met the standard. And if we had the figures kept by Nathaniel Starbuck, we would find the men not only kept their giving at par considering the meeting membership, but they also gave correspondingly in ratio to the increasing prosperity of the island. The foregoing figures are not wholly reliable however, as important funds were frequently recorded outside of the regular collection accounts. At best they point up directions and trends.

Nathaniel Starbuck resigned his position as treasurer in the spring of 1741, when he was succeeded by the schoolteacher, his understudy, Benjamin Coffin. Among the latters' accomplishments was the art of engraving, which has been preserved for us in the mid-century records

of Nantucket Monthly Meeting which he carefully transcribed into the minute book. And with these records he began again to enter the financial accounts for which we are most grateful. Benjamin first began using The School Master's Assistant, an arithmetic book in his schoolroom in 1740, the principles of which he exemplified in his meeting accounts. A year before Nathaniel Starbuck retired, he paid Benjamin Coffin $20.00 from meeting funds for the copying of the Pennsylvania law regarding the right of affirmation in place of taking judicial oaths. Unfortunately this meeting document has disappeared.

No doubt the aging Nathaniel felt uneasy as the new currencies each more quickly than the other vanished away into worthless heaps of paper. But before he gave up his struggle with the uncertainties of the day he did handle a good amount of business in the three years from 1738 to 1741. At the very outset he received $120.00 for 20 copies of Barclay's Apology, which item he had picked up in Newport, at a very stiff price indeed. In 1740 he sent off $777.00 for another consignment of the same book at obviously inflated prices. For it is impossible to believe that the meeting desired 77 more copies in so short a time. Later that year Philip Pollard appeared with his eleven additional copies. So the meeting must have been well equipped with imprints if its official doctrines. In line with education through the printed word in the fall of 1739 John Hammett's books, now carefully perused, were order in quantities of 52 of each from John John Green of "Potowomet", a member of Greenwich Monthly Meeting. The cost probably ran over the $208.00 originally envisaged.

The one other outstanding item which demanded attention was the bill for repairing the meetinghouse. Paul Starbuck presented an item

of $54.00 for windows set in the summer of 1738. A second bill the spring of 1741 came to $69.00. Then the ex-clerk turned over his accounts amounting to $381.00 to Benjamin Coffin, who held the office for three impossibly stormy years. Perhaps the most useful development during the engraver's tenure of office, was the decision that "This meeting concludes for the future to have a collection once a month upon the first day of the week before each monthly meeting after the meeting for worship is over at our Meeting House". The next report revealed that $272.40 had been collected by the overseers standing by the doors. An additional $78.00 was then taken up at that business session making a total of $350.40 for the month, a good sum in the light of the then current depreciations. At this meeting the women decided that the new financial burden was proving too heavy for their clerk, who had hitherto handled their financial matters, and so they appointed Mehitabel Pollard to the position, giving her an initial figure of $88.00 upon which to build. The yearly meeting of 1741 presented Nantucket with an additional responsibility. London Yearly Meeting had found itself faced with a empty treasury, and thereupon appealed to its daughter bodies. Jethro Folger reported to the subsequent Quarterly Meeting that he had collected $1,100.00 from the island as a symbol of inter-yearly meeting solidarity, a sum which was to be joined with other monthly meeting donations, and then sent across the sea.

The meeting next applied itself to further education in Quakerism when in the summer of 1742, Friends discussed how many copies of William Penn's "No Cross no Crown" should be subscribed. The number purchased was not recorded. A year later the "Clark" Joseph Marshall was asked to ascertain what number of George Fox's Primer were needed

for the youth of the membership, and to send John Easton in Newport the cost of those ordered. A few months later we learn that 100 copies had been ordered, though the price was not listed in the records. The periodic expense of keeping up the meetinghouse next claimed treasurer Benjamin Coffin's attention, when he paid Paul Starbuck $328.00 for repairing the windows, doors and sills of the great meetinghouse. In addition $250.00 was sent off to help the Friends of South Kingston Monthly Meeting, recently set off from Greenwich Monthly Meeting, to build a new meetinghouse at Westerly, Rhode Island. Both these latter figures are drawn from an inflated currency, as was the final balance which Coffin turned over to the new treasurer, John Macy, Jr. in 1744. The figure stands at $1,476.60, probably in old tenor notes, as 1744 was the bottom of the colonial depression during King George's War. Benjamin retired from his treasurer's office as he had enough problems of his own collecting tuition fees for his pupils in an even enlarging school.

The women's treasurer Mehitabel Pollard likewise found as much financial uncertainty as she could stand, and therefor resigned a few weeks after Benjamin Coffin relinquished his office. During her three year incumbency, the women's meeting had been especially concerned over households in need. The first of these was Mary Newbegin's. She, poor woman, had been left with five minor children a widow in 1739. George Newbegin died in his 38th year leaving no estate of any consequent, as he was probably one of a crew of a whaler. It appears that they moved onto the island as young newlyweds in 1727, joined meeting soon thereafter, and then departed in the spring of 1741, with a certificate of transfer of membership to an unknown meeting, probably in New England. One son, James, aged 15, stayed on in an apprentice situation. Eventually he married a Phebe Nichols in an off-island

meeting, again unknown to us. And she became a member of Nantucket meeting by transfer. They were definitely eccentric people, their granddaughters being the very odd Newbegin spinster sisters. Jethro Folger and Elihu Coleman were the weighty committee which inquired into Mary Newbegin's needs, and she was granted $120.00 two months before she quit the island for parts unknown.

A second Friend in need was Caleb Stratton's mother, Susanna, whose case received cursory treatment in an earlier chapter. As with Mary Newbegin, Susanna Stratton got $120.00. In Second Monthoof 1743, when as it happened, the men's meeting had no business whatever, and so recorded "In Unity Friends Conclude." A year later, Mehitabel Pollard gave Susanna Stratton an additional $250.00. Her case had been investigated by Jethro Folger and Elihu Coleman in conference with Caleb and Lois Stratton as early as 1740 when she first claimed $40.00 per week assistance from the meeting. Apparently the committee prevailed on the said Caleb to assume responsibility for his mother, at least for three years. Once again in 1745, she was to get $215.20.

A third widow to be helped was Sarah (Folger) Odar, mother of Lois Stratton. A special day was set aside early in 1740 for the meeting to collect an unreported sum for her. One concluding note regarding the women's concern for those in need involves the response of Nantucket to Matthew Estes, collector for Sandwich Quarterly Meeting, and one-time resident of Nantucket. This Scituate Friend has been asked to contact all women's monthly meetings in New England to procure funds to alleviate those suffering militia fines, such as Hatsell O'Kelley. What amount was sent was not recorded.

In 1743, the women procured a caretaker of the interior of the meetinghouse, as cleaning was naturally woman's work. And there was

little danger a woman would be gone periodically whaling. Mary (Gorham) Gardner was selected, wife of Andrew Gardner the blacksmith, and sister of Elizabeth (Gorham) Bunker. The stipend for helping open and close the house four times a week plus getting it ready for special occasions such as weddings and funerals came to the insignificant sum of $80.00 a year. It was indeed a labor of love. Each time she closed the house, she was expected to rake great swirls, with her broom rake upon the sand which was thereby freshened on the floor for the next assembly. At least once a year the sand had to be shoveled out and fresh white glistening beach sand distributed evenly under the benches. It may be presumed that Paul Starbuck was responsible for the major heavy work involved at that time. Sand was the Nantucket equivalent of sawdust, used in many frontier communities to deaden footsteps. It may be recalled that Paul Starbuck become caretaker of the meeting properties upon the departure of his uncle Barnabas Starbuck in 1721.

Hephzibah Hussey replaced Mehitabel Pollard in financial responsibilities in the women's meeting in 1745, when she received $236.80 from the outgoing treasurer. Silvanus' wife continued in her collector's capacity till the end of the decade, though John Macy, Jr. was replaced in the men's meeting by the tailor Benjamin Barney, who came to be associated with the treasurership of Nantucket Monthly Meeting as long and as intimately as was Thomas Macy, the younger. As 1748 marked the end of the currency tailspin in Massachusetts, the years ahead for Hephzibah Hussey and Benjamin Barney were much more easily handled than those in the preceeding decade.

The first act of John Macy, Jr. as treasurer was to send $1,150.00 for further aid in the building of the Westerly Meetinghouse, and also to help Dartmouth Monthly Meeting put up a meetinghouse in

Taunton. A request from Swansea Friends to help with the building of their new house was postponed, and then dropped later in 1745, when information came that Ebenezer Woodward, a Friend of Swansea, had lost his home by fire. $500.00 was promptly dispatched toward his relief. The Swansea Meetinghouse cost $37,988.00 altogether, as reported to Quarterly Meeting in 1747. The figure is interesting for although prices were inflated, the building can hardly have been more than a third as large as that on Nantucket. With a tripling of the cost of materials and labor involved in the years from 1732 to 1747, it is not altogether absurd to suggest the great meetinghouse on Nantucket cost about $40,000.00. Again the fact the original meetinghouse was valued at $4,000.00. when it burned in 1735 seems to corroborate the Swansea figure which we have suggested as reasonable for Nantucket.

Bills for the upkeep of the Nantucket meetinghouse next claimed attention. Paul Starbuck received $365.80 in the fall of 1745 and $3,599.00 for a thorough overhaul job in the fall of 1747. Altogether meetinghouse maintainance cost the membership at least $4,815.80 during the decade, a yearly charge of over $480.00. Again inflated prices account in part for the high costs. Money was short toward the end of the decade as was noticed in 1746 when Friends agreed to give $500.00 to Lydia Norton to assist that Friend of Amesbury in an extensive tour in the ministry. Actually Captain Silvanus Hussey who transported her to the mainland advanced the money, which was repaid him in three months time. At least some of that figure was supplied by Barnabas Coleman who had been named book agent for the meeting in 1744. His job was to collect the cost of Barclay's Apologies, Fox's Primers, Penn's No Cross No Crown, West

and Hammett items, and as well any miscellaneous imprints which were in his book display. In two years time he had apparently sold $275.80 worth of books, though he may have turned in an earlier unreported collection. Upon this note of incompleteness, we conclude our account of the finances for the 1738-1748 decade. It was a time of uncertainty preceeding half a decade of clear sailing. What relief this new condition must have proved for the five Friends of Nantucket, who served the meeting as an unofficial fiduciary committee: namely, Benjamin Barney, Hephzibah Hussey, Paul Starbuck, Mary Gardner, and Barnabas Coleman, and with them ex officio the clerks Silvanus Hussey, Priscilla Coleman and Elihu Coleman. Governor Shirley's sound money policy had safely launched a new era of peace. The decade of King George's War was an era of deep unsettlement; challenge to Quaker pacifism; danger to whaling investment; heartbreaking to widows and fatherless children; unsettling for those who trusted in a sound medium of exchange; and trying for those given special responsibility in the Friends meeting. With the coming of peace, however, a unique benediction was brought to the island.

True peace is, of course, an inward as well as an outward condition. As the war drew to a close, symbolically, Nantucket played host to the greatest disciple of inward peace, whom the society of Friends has ever produced. The gentle tailor from Mt. Holly, New Jersey, a minister of Burlingto Monthly Meeting arrived in the late summer of 1747. In company with "his beloved friend and neighbor" Peter Andrews (1708-1755), John Woolman (1720-1772) drew such crowds to the meetings that they attended on Nantucket, that they quite overflowed the meetinghouse, so that all withdrew to the great whaleloft of Starbuck-Macy partnership, where perhaps another five or six hundred could be crowded within doors. Five years before John Woolman

had refused to notorize the bill of sale requested of him, because the chattel in question was a negro girl. Almost startled at his own action, the tailor of Mt. Holly was thereupon given the key to one of the greatest vocations in the Society of Friends. Although he did not speak openly of the evils of slavery for another decade his whole being was disciplined, for the fearful task of ridding Friends of involvement in the business of bondage for life. The magic which attached to his person and his message, was, however, becoming more and more evident. And the precedent established of overflowing to the sailloft he initiated long before it became a usual practice in the next years of the meeting.

Friends in New England had already begun again to be sensitive to the evils of slavery, even before John Woolman's first visit, as they might well have been as the importation of slaves had been at least the occasion for initiating their troubles in the form of King George's War. In 1745, for instance, Nathaniel Coleman reported that New England yearly meeting had revived its minute of 1717 advising against involvement actively in the slave trade. The caution was well placed as our friend John Woolman noted that one session of Yearly Meeting two years later quite emptied itself as the cry went over Newport that some slavers were entering the harbor. The too human curiosity to learn whose investments had paid off, took precedance over the managing of the discipline of the Society.
As earlier, Nantucket Friends viewed the peculiar institution more consistently than the mainlanders when judged from the basic assumptions of Christianity, as was evidenced in 1741 when Captain Ebenezer Gardner manumitting Pompey one, perhaps the only one of his negro slaves.

Ebenezer was, interestingly, not a fully consistent Friend himself, having,it will be recalled, married a second time out of meeting, after his first wife's death in 1717. And his second brood of children, though many of them eventually married into the meeting, were raised outside of the Quaker discipline.

John Woolman left nothing in his journal in 1747 regarding Nantucket except a perfunctory notice of attendance at meetings there. We have to wait for a much later return to the island to read his penetrating economic observations on the state of the island. There is little doubt, however, that his later essays which so skillfully trace the origins of social evils in this world to human insecurity, and its mask, human pride, especially in the form of property ownership, reflect his awareness of the basic problem of the Nantucket community. It is rather natural to expect that after 1748 had produced currency stability, the basic social disequilbrium which had lain dormant during the era of King George's War, should assume central importance in the early peaceful years of the Era of the Seven Years War which immediately followed. At least this was the case. True peace must of necessity be primarily an inward condition, if it is to endure.

CHAPTER 12

"A Brave Weighty Solid People. . ."

1738-1748

The religious unsettlement which produced the revivalist preaching of Theodore Fruylingheusen in 1726 and that of Gilbert Tennant two years later, to be climaxed by the fiery zeal of Jonathan Edwards, was finally brought to a fine frenzy by George Whitfield in the decade between 1738 and 1748, actually in the years from 1739 to 1741 to be accurate. The Society of Friends generally held aloof, though it was impossible to escape the atmosphere of excitement engendered. Indirectly the Quaker movement was deeply affected, especially as an inner reform was initiated which bore fruit a decade later. By 1740, serious decline in several meetings demanded the appearance of a spirit of reform. The Preparative Meeting on Conanicut Island for instance was discontinued in that year. As we have brought attention upon the "Great Awakening" it is well to bear in mind that it characterized the restlessness which was incubating, and which would eventually produce the American Revolution. The religious enthusiasm reached its peak in the great public burnings of books, finery and jewelry in New Haven in 1742 under the ecstatic teaching of James Davenport. George Tennant that same year held a revival in otherwise staid Boston itself. Certainly the calvinist uniformity of the Bay Colony had disappeared. There were 22 Baptist churches listed in the colony in 1740, while in 1745 a Boston Presbytery for Presbyterian Churches came into being. So unpopular were the Presbyterians, however, that in 1740 they were driven out of Worcester to found Pelham, Massachusetts. German Calvinists came in large numbers into the colony by 1750, most of them spreading out to Ashburnham or the

Berkshires on the frontier. As for Boston itself in 1750, there were 17 churches of which only 10 belonged to the Established faith. Three were Episcopalian; one was Huguenot Presbyterian, one was Scots-Irish Presbyterian, one was Baptist, and there was the Quaker meeting on Everett's Lane between King and Water Streets, now in the heart of the financial district. The town boasted 1600 homes and 30 warehouses. Scattered among the population of 15,000 persons were 1500 negroes, perhaps half of them slaves. The first Fanuiel Hall was built in 1740, to be rebuilt in 1761. And that handsome meetinghouse constructed for the Old South Church also appeared in 1740. So worldly had become the funerals of the day that the General Court in 1742 saw fit to prohibit presentation of gifts at burials. Yet in 1745 the public conscience allowed to be suspended a law forbidding lotteries which had been passed in 1719. Growth in the area of toleration called for two year forgiveness of all tithes, in 1746, which was made permanent two years later. Boston was indirectly affected by the Great Awakening.

Southward the impact was greater. In Pennsylvania the German element became politically alert. In 1739 Christopher Sauer founded the Pennsylvanische Berichte as an organ to insure German support for the Quaker government. The Moravians, who had unsuccessfully attempted the Georgia frontier now settled Bethlehem in 1740 under the aegis of Count Zinzendorff, who hoped to form a Council of German Pietists which would include the Society of Friends. Then in 1732 Henry Muhlenberg arrived to organize the Lutheran Germans of Pennsylvania. By 1748, a synod had been formed. But the real gain for the awakening occurred in Virginia and farther south where many "New Light" churches were founded beginning in 1748. Connecticut seemed least touched by

the spirit of diversity, though surprisingly enough in 1749, she appointed Richard Partridge, the Quaker agent for Rhode Island, her defendant before the Board of Trade in London. In 1743 Connecticut repealed its toleration act, though in practice no special hardships were imposed on dissenters.

The flow of Friends to and from Nantucket during the years of King George War kept Nantucket, along with its foreign trade, alert to the conditions of the time. Representation at Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting reached a new low, though 55 Friends came "from off" to visit. During the first forty months of the decade Benjamin Barney, Silvanus Hussey, Nathaniel Coleman and Jethro Folger were the only Nantucketers recorded at Newport, though Benjamin went twice. Reports for the first third of the decade were prepared by Jethro Starbuck, Benjamin Coffin, Richard Worth, John Macy, Jr., Mehitabel Pollard, Dinah Starbuck, Paul Starbuck, Elihu Coleman and Benjamin Barney, most of whom served more than once. Notable visitors during the first forty months included Jane (Fenn) Hoskins, who had visited before her marriage in 1725, and Mary Foulke, wife of Judah of Philadelphia. Their certificate was read at General Meeting time in 1740. For some strange reason Mary Foulke's returning minute from Brightstown Monthly Meeting, Barbadoes, was also read, she being en route back from the West Indies. The women's meeting then recorded especial gratefulness for the services of Ebenezer Woodward, the Friend of Swansea, whose house burned in 1746 and Nantucket helped him rebuild. The latter could report that in 1740 shipping out of Newport had doubled its figures for 1721, there being at the later date, 120 sail operating in the coastwise trade.

In the autumn of 1740 arrived Henry Stanton, Jr., from Coresound Monthly Meeting, North Carolina, to interest Nantucketers in settling

on the coast south of Cape Hatteras at the mouth of the Newport River. Coresound Monthly Meeting had operated since its founding seven years before practically as an independent meeting. In 1741 it joined Carolina Quarterly and Yearly Meeting. It is possible that the Jonathan Macys migrated there in 1744. Stanton spent three months that autumn advertising Coresound before he finally departed fortified, with a favorably penned returning minute. As before noticed Henry Stanton was cousin to the Philadelphia, Westerly, Newport and Nantucket Friends of that name. He bears out Crevecoeur's observation that Quakers systematically spread information to older meetings as to new advantageous places in which to settle.

John Griffith of Darby Monthly Meeting reported sizeable gatherings at General Meeting time in 1741, a description enlarged upon by the women's meeting to read "large quiet and good." This was the time when most colonial towns mourned the excessive lose of life of those who participated in the ill-fated action against Portobello. Griffith returned again later that summer. So was finished off the first third of this decade.

The second 40 months of the 1738-1748 period opened with Paul Starbuck's appointment to attend Quarterly Meeting. During that period he was followed by Nathaniel Starbuck, Nathaniel Coleman, Benjamin Barney, and John Macy, Jr. As for the correspondents for the period they included; Benjamin Barney, Benjamin Coffin, John Macy, Jr., Jethro Folger, Nathaniel Starbuck and Paul Starbuck. The reporters were fewer than in the 40 months preceding. The first visitor in the second period was a Friend of Austle Monthly Meeting in England, Samuel Hopwood, whose certificate endorsed by the London Morning Meeting was duly recorded in the monthly meeting minutes.

He had been on the island the preceding autumn. He left little record on the island, either in 1741 or in 1742. General Meeting in 1743, on the other hand brought a very useful journalist to the island in the figure of Edmund Peckover who had crossed the Atlantic with Samuel Hopwood. A minister of Wells Monthly Meeting, County Norfolk, his ministry "appeared at times as a cloud filled with Celestial rain..." Speaking "with great fervency," his delivery was manly and distinct, his Doctrine sound and flowing..."

Having visited with John Cadwallader, John Estaugh and Richard Jordan, all old Friends of Nantucket, and all destined to die of the plague before the year was out on Tortola. Peckover went up into New England to visit Lydia Norton the minister of Hampton, who though paralysed from a shock was still spiritually alert. In Dartmouth his host was John Tucker, then aged 88. The patriarch showed him about, to the new town house built in 1737 and to the Apponegansett Meeting-house which was enlarged in 1743. At yearly meeting in Newport he visited with Samuel and Moses Aldrich, and noticed among the 5000 attenders "Old Nath'l Starbuck from Nantucket." His journal account follows.

> "Staid three days on said Island where is a very large body of Friends; I think their meetinghouse will not hold less than fifteen hundred persons, and it was very full when we were there. We had good Satisfaction in our Visit amongst them. Old N. Starbuck & Wife, and Jethro and his wife, I think, were both of them living. I was at their house. A brave weighty Solid people is among them, and they seem to live pretty much in love and unity together. The far greatest

"part of the Inhabitants profess to come to meetings; I think there are about three hundred families in all upon it, and about two hundred and fifty of them are frequenters of our meetings. They have Seven or Eight Publick ffriends."

Edmund Peckover's observations are valuable for statistical purpose, but not for spiritual analysis. There is no consciousness of the rift caused by Proprietary policies. As for his list of ministers, it appeared he omitted listing two, which is understandable as they may not have spoken while he was on the island. On the other hand the number of Quaker families seems excessively large. But probably in addition to 145 families regularly enrolled in the meeting in 1743, there were some 100 or more families on the periphery of the meeting. At least that proportion of members and attenders was characteristic of meetings in other communities in the 18th century. On that basis it may be estimated that Parson White's parish included 15 of the remaining 50 families on the island. Peckover calculated that each Nantucket family averaged six persons. His estimate runs the membership of the Society 200 above what it was, and therefor the total island population may have been nearer 1,450 white persons than 1,800 suggested at his approximation. At that, the white population had more than doubled in less than twenty years. And there were probably in addition about 300 Indians on the island at that time. Peckover returned on the sloop Francis to England before the year was out, the voyage running average, and thereby consuming two and a half months. With him on Nantucket was a John Haslam of Wandsworth Monthly Meeting, Yorkshire, for whom a minute was read, and Joseph Hoskins of Chester Monthly Meeting,

Pennsylvania, husband of Jane (Fenn) Hoskins. He was one of a number of Friends who had moved away from Barbadoes, in his case in 1731. They may have brought along copies of the New York Post Bag, a newspaper which first appeared in 1743. Another paper, the New York Gazette had issued regularly throughout the colonial period from 1725. A Boston sheet, The New England Weekly Journal had expired two years before. However, the Boston Evening Post founded in 1719 continued to supply news in competition to the Boston Post Bag.

A year later at General Meeting time Nantucket was host to Christopher Wilson (1704-1761) a Friend of Pardshawhall Monthly Meeting in County Cumberland, whose certificate with that of his companion, Eleazer Sheldon of Dublin Monthly Meeting in Ireland, were read. Wilson later achieved the questionable distinction of losing his fortune in speculation in 1759, which action brought disownment. Sheldon was son-in-law of William Edmondson, the first apostle of Quakerism in Ireland. And with their visit concluded, we are ready to take up the last third of the decade.

The first islander to leave the island on official Quaker business in 1745 was minister Nathaniel Coleman who attended yearly meeting in Newport. Apparently Elihu Coleman was the one other Friend so listed as having been in Newport by Yearly Meeting of 1748. On the other hand, the group of epistle writers was not reduced. Silvanus Hussey, Benjamin Barney, Jethro Folger, Elihu Coleman, Richard Mitchell, Paul Starbuck, Barnabas Coleman, Hephzibah Hussey, Nathaniel Starbuck and Robert Barnard were those named. In 1746, especially the correspondents were admonished to report the experiencing of particularly helpful meetings for worship.

The visitors during the last 40 months of the decade were as

earlier an interesting cross section of the Quaker world. The first notable figure was Benjamin Buffington a minister of Swansea Monthly Meeting (1701-1760), one of the few Quarterly Meeting Friends to achieve colonial distinction. Clear in military matters in 1718, he became a minister in 1731 and was accounted "a deep traveller in spirit". He died of over-exertion at a house raising in 1760 after ministering in all the colonies. His wife Isabel (1705-1791) was also a Nantucket visitor being daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Shearman) Chase also frequenters of the island. Benjamin's death underscores the relatively primitive method of housebuilding still in vogue. As evidence of backwardness in another area of carpentry, it was reported in 1745 that there wasn't a single square pane of glass in Kennebec, Maine; all were diagonal leaded lights. And it was only in 1746 that Yale College erected its first large building.

Then in the summer of 1746 Lydia Norton, evidently recovered from her paralysis, as reported by Edmund Peckover, appeared to minister on the island. This was the time she had run short of cash and Captain Silvanus Hussey advanced her $500.00 to complete her travels. The New Hampshire from which she came had procured its first governor in 1741, one of the timber monopolists of the Wentworth family, who was soon to lay claim to Vermont, a region also claimed by New York.

The same John Griffith who had been on Nantucket in 1741 returned in 1746 to find the "life of religion much departed", only a small core of Friends truly alive. Evidently the virus of 1664 deed had been at work appreciably. Griffith returned in 1747 to visit his native Radnorshire from which he had come to America in 1726. In this case he remained abroad till 1765 when he returned to Darby again. Griffith was truly an international Friend. He died in England in 1777. John Griffith's Nantucket companion in 1746 was David Ferris,

once of Stratford, Connecticut, but then of Wilmington, Delaware, carrying a minute from Newark Monthly Meeting. David Ferris is the well known figure who fought a call to the ministry for 20 years, yielding at last in 1755. Perhaps he feared the approval of his hearers. For we find that in 1748, John Churchman, the visitor of 1742, referred to in an earlier chapter, grouped Friends in three categories. First there were those who invited him home after meeting and told him his message was a nail driven in a sure place, which meant they were relatively untouched by it. Second, there were those who repeated his admonitions to others whom they felt needed such. And third, there were those who kept silent, feeling inwardly weak, and appreciative of what guidance was given.

Griffith and Ferris were at the Quarterly Meeting at which the cost of the Swansea Meetinghouse was reported. In addition they heard an advice that sufferings for conscience sake during King George's War were requested to be collected, and a Select Meeting was approved to be set up at Dartmouth, 19 years after Nantucket had done so. No less than fourteen visitors spoke or sat silent in the Nantucket Meetinghouse, that summer of 1747. The most famous of which was John Woolman. Another luminary of that summer was Samuel Nottingham (1716-1787), once of Northamptonshire, and truly an inter-national Quaker. In 1735 or so he moved to Tortola. Twelve years later he moved his headquarters for merchandizing to Philadelphia, from which place he had come to Nantucket. Then in 1755, he returned to Tortola for an eight years residence. Back in Philadelphia again in 1763 he removed to Flushing Monthly Meeting, New York in 1771. In 1777 the Revolution drove him back to Bristol in old England and he died ten years later in his native shire. In 1747 when he visited Nantucket he had freed his West Indian slaves.

A word should be said about Peter Andrews, John Woolman's companion, a Friend of Little Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting, who had moved to Mt. Holly in 1730. Like Woolman he died in England, in Norwich as it happened when he continued to travel without heeding the inroads of illness. A third companion in the Woolman-Andrews party was the late Stephen Wilcox's son, Stephen Wilcox, Jr., whose half brother John was a Nantucket youth. As these visitors departed they took with them to Philadelphia William Coleman, minister Elihu's son, who carried a letter to Israel Pemberton, the "King of the Quakers" in Pennsylvania. Then in 1748, there came Zachariah Ferris (1717-1803) brother of David, also a resident of Wilmington, where he kept a tanyard, an occupation long associated with Quakers of that place. Lukily we have accurate record of his appearance, almost alone of the hundreds of Friends whose names are mentioned in this study. Round-shouldered, hooked nosed, Zachariah presented a not too prepossessing appearance. As the decade concludes, it is well to notice we have discussed briefly 17 off-islanders plus John Woolman and John Churchman. Unfortunately but two of them kept account of their experiences on the island. We can now with profit turn to examine the condition of the Society of Friends on the island as compared to Quaker trends in the colonial scene.

As far as internal growth was concerned, it was steady in the years from 1738 to 1748. Membership enlarged from 550 persons to 815, and family units from 115 to 170. The accretions consisted of 280 births, 47 convincements, and six transfers into the meeting. Losses involved 21 deaths and 12 transfers out of meeting. As for marriages there were 65 as compared to 48 in the preceeding decade. And marriages out of meeting increased from six to twelve, a proportion considerably greater than the proportional increase of Quaker weddings. The population of the American colonies reached the high figure of one million souls

midway in the decade in 1743. If Friends kept their percentage level of the year 1700, there should have been 48,000 Quakers in the American colonies during King George's War. Very probably there were that many or more. There had been set up ten new monthly meetings between 1738 and 1748, and but one other was laid down. The new meeting with greatest contact with Nantucket was that in South County, Rhode Island, known as South Kingston and created in 1743 from the southern portion of Greenwich Monthly Meeting. And in 1744 there appeared the first new Quarterly Meeting in America since the meeting on Nantucket had started. This was Purchase Quarterly Meeting for Purchase (Westchester) and Oblong Monthly Meetings on the Hudson in New York. Incidentally in 1747 Nantucket representatives at Newport reported Dartmouth and Oblong Meetings were negotiating to settle a case of discipline involving them both. Oblong had already become a migration point for southern New England Quakers. Migration from Nantucket had not yet become a sizeable movement. Yet as we turn to focus attention upon the membership changes till 1748, there is increasing evidence here and there of young couple moving elsewhere.

As far as family changes within the Nantucket Meeting during the epoch of the War of the Austrian Succession was concerned. The initial event was death. Bethiah (Macy) Renouf, an overseer, aged 57, died leaving two children in the meeting. Perhaps it is not altogether inappropriate that death should open an uncreative decade. The symbolism is deepened when we realize the first wedding in the 1738-1748 decade was childless, that of John Coleman III to a daughter of Shubael Pinkham. And the second marriage united her sister by magistrate's vows to a non-Quaker Gardner. On the credit side of the ledger, however, was the convincement of Anna (Coffin)Gardner, sister of Judith Wilcox and mother of Rueben and David Gardner, the latter

an especially promising member of the Society on Nantucket. Another of Anna Gardner's family to join the meeting in the decade under question was Stephen, who married a daughter of William Worth in 1742. And one last son, Richard, joined in 1746 by marrying a daughter of John Macy, Jr. This couple emigrated soon after the ceremony, possibly to Newport or to Newport River, North Carolina. Anna Gardner herself died unexpectedly in 1740, aged 47.

To return to the fall of 1738 we find Priscilla Starbuck writing in the women's monthly meeting book "Christopher Worth, a seafaring man was delayed on return from Boston because of contrary winds and not knowing how soon he might have to sail asked Friends to consider his proposal to Dinah Paddock which was done "at mid-week meeting, which allowed for an early marriage. Christopher Worth was a brother of John and nephew of William and Joseph. His bride was daughter to Ann Paddock. One other male Worth married before 1748, he being Benjamin, son of the minister Sarah (Hoag) Worth. His bride was a daughter of Shubael Folger. One eligible male Worth, Jonah, son of William, elected to remain a bachelor, and one of his sisters, Sarah, remained a spinster to look after him. One other of their sisters died in 1739, aged just 21 years.

Still later that fall occurred a very significant union when Jonathan Hussey, son of Captain Silvanus, married a daughter of Paul Starbuck, and then removed to Newport in 1743, to assume control of the expanding Starbuck whaling interests in that port. An older half brother Seth Hussey married a Jenkins in meeting in 1742, and a younger full brother William Hussey took a most independent position by marrying a second of Paul Starbuck's daughters out of meeting. This appears to have been the first instance when both parties were members of the Society of Friends on the island. As a result, although they

retained nominal membership, their children were ingeniously enough ruled not to be birthright members. Their marriage took place in 1746. Still another brother, Christopher Hussey, had married a non-Quaker Coffin out of meeting in 1743.

In the spring of 1739, Samuel Barker, the hostel keeper of Woods Hole, died aged 73. He left a Nantucket estate valued at $116,282.00, including four negro slaves; Primos, Zubinah, a mulatto Pero, and her small child; and as well, his ferry boat. Barker's Quakerism had never been fully expressive of the religious ideals of Friends. It is not surprising that his three sons by Bethiah (Folger) Barker all married out of the Society. Robert married a Chase in 1744, and Samuel, Jr., a Coffin in 1747. Josiah wed after 1748. The one daughter, Judith, died the year of her father's passing, aged 20.

During the summer of 1739 a new branch of the Gardner family found its way into meeting in the figure of Charles Gardner, a nephew of Dinah Starbuck and Miriam Coffin, miller Samuel's wife. Charles' wife was Anna Pinkham, daughter of Shubael whom he had married out of meeting six years earlier as before observed. His was one of the rare instances of convincement to Friends' principles after a non-Quaker wedding. None of his brothers came among Friends.

Then in the autumn of 1739 David Macy, son of John Macy, Jr., took a daughter of Anna Gardner and niece of Judith Wilcox as wife. And in 1743 John Macy III, his brother married a daughter of minister Elihu Coleman. They were thirty years later to migrate to New Garden, Guilford County, North Carolina. And in the autumn of 1744 there occurred the wedding of a third brother, Jonathan, to Lois Gorham, daughter of Elizabeth of Barnstable. In this case they moved to the care of Coresound monthly meeting, North Carolina. He was apparently the first of the Macy name to leave the island. Her mother and brother

attended the wedding. William Macy, still another brother, married a daughter of Benjamin and Lydia (Starbuck) Barney in 1746, and remained on the island. A cousin of theirs Priscilla Macy, daughter of elder Richard was the only one of that clan to die before 1748. She departed this life in 1746, aged 17.

Then as the spring of 1740 came along the women's "visitors" reported things obviously about as usual, and the meeting admonished them to take care where need appeared; although this was the winter when Thomas Howes III, George Bunker and the youth, Elisha Folger were last. Abigail (Starbuck) Howes, Thomas' widow and daughter of the whaling monopolist who was once a pretty gay lass, then married a second time, in meeting this time to a widower John Way, whose first wife had been a daughter of Sarah Long. After this marriage Abigail became much more active in Quaker affairs. Abigail (Worth) Bunker, widow of George, and daughter of Joseph Worth, married her husband's cousin Benjamin Bunker in 1743. Thus were the two broken homes rebuilt. Benjamin was son of the weighty elder Jabez Bunker, as one might surmise. Incidentally four Bunker cousins of Benjamin's came into the meeting in these years. One was David, son of Deborah Folger and brother of Obed Bunker. He married Elizabeth Gorham his cousin as before noticed. And his brother Thomas married a niece of Caleb Swain in 1741. Another was Jonathan Bunker, a grandson through his mother of Stephen Coffin, Sr., Jonathan wed a daughter of Richard Macy which interested him in the meeting in 1742. And the last was Joseph Bunker, a first cousin once-removed, and grandson of George Bunker, Nathaniel Starbuck's non-Quaker successor as clerk of the Proprietary. He married in 1747 still another daughter of Shubael Pinkham, who drew him into association with Friends.

In the autumn of 1740 three couples appeared simultaneously proposing marriage. Previously there had been double cases, but this was one of the first "triple-headers". And we will find that such becomes more frequent in the years ahead, when more than three simultaneous proposals were accepted as normal. In this case two sons of miller Thomas Coffin were involved. John the elder was about to marry Kezia Folger, daughter of Folger cousins and grand-daughter of Judith Wilcox. Kezia was the great merchant princess of the Revolutionary epoch, a smuggler without peer. Her fame lies embedded in the narrative entitled Miriam Coffin, by which pseudonym she was known. Quakerism had bred spiritual independence among the women of Nantucket. No doubt Kezia learned her lessons in practical independence and pressure politics from her grand mother Judith Wilcox and her aunt Anna Starbuck, wife of minister William, and her aunt Kezia Starbuck, wife of caretaker Paul. In the colonial period if a woman had sufficient property no one would challenge her right to vote and otherwise take part in affairs of the body politic. Perhaps the fact Kezia had no children encouraged her ambition and subsequently her un-Quaker-like course in life. John Coffin's brother William Coffin had found himself no such volcanic companion, though they had engaged in pre-marital sex relations, which proved painfully embarrassing a year later. His wife was another daughter of Ann Paddock. The third man to propose marriage was Nathaniel Macy, son of elder Thomas, who chose a daughter of Shubael Pinkham. As in an increasing number of marriages in this case six months elapsed before the vows were said. A whaling voyage had intervened. Robert Logan, probably a whaling ship-mate from Philadelphia attended the ceremony. A year later a brother of John and William Coffin married in a completely orthodox respectable Quaker way a

daughter of minister Elihu Coleman. He was David Coffin.

A month after the triple application in 1740 a marriage was set in motion which revealed interesting off-island ties. In this case Joseph Marshall, Jr., son of the ropewalk operator and the unmanageable Abigail (Hussey) Howes Marshall appeared with Phebe Folger, daughter of Shubael and Jerusha (Church) Folger. Both participants were half off-island in ancestry, and that may well have contributed to the astonishing vigor and activity which they come to play in the subsequent life of the meeting. Incidentally her grandfather, elder Thomas Clark, aged 82, passed away about this time. One other death of a member was that removing Lois Stratton's mother, Sarah (Folger) Odar, aged about 65. Sarah Odar's death occurred in the fall of 1740.

In the autumn of 1741, Edward Starbuck, great-great-grandson of the original Nantucket settler by that name, a man descended both through his Nantucket father Paul, and New Hampshire mother Ann, married a daughter of William Worth. The wedding symbolized the continuing control of the Starbuck Quaker domination of the meeting here extending into a third generation. One of Edward's brother's married in the decade, he being Joseph Starbuck who wed in 1744 a daughter of Richard Macy. Their household was outstanding in keeping up the whaling interests of the Starbuck-Macy partnership. The only other Starbuck male to marry before 1748 was Silvanus Starbuck, their second cousin, son of minister William who proposed marriage with his cousin Abigail Howes in 1745. He was a strong Friend. Abigail had one brother to marry during the decade, he being Zaccheus Howes who wed in meeting Lydia Gardner, a daughter of Captain Ebenezer, by his second non-Quaker wife. The wedding took place in 1746. Zaccheus' father it will be recalled was Captain Thomas Howes III, drowned in 1739.

Also in the autumn of 1741, Francis Barnard, son of widow Judith married a daughter of Thomas Macy. Francis was followed by two of his brothers. Abishai married a non-Quaker Coffin in meeting in 1743; and John married a non-Quaker Ellis out of meeting in 1744. Two of their Barnard cousins also wed before 1748, both sons of Ebenezer Barnard, William chose another daughter of miller Samuel Coffin in 1743; and Stephen appeared with a daughter of minister William Starbuck in 1744. Both were excellent matches from the viewpoint of prestige on Nantucket.

One last union in the fall of 1741 involved Daniel Coleman, son of Solomon and Deliverance, who married a Mooers out of meeting. Daniel's sister Elizabeth has already been noticed in a marriage with Jonathan Gwinn. No others of this family wed in the decade, though it might be noted that their cousin Mary Coleman, youngest of ministers Priscilla's brood also married in 1741, to William Russell nephew of the Macy brothers, as before observed. His mother Deborah (Macy) Russell died in 1742, aged 63, leaving two sons in the meeting.

A removal next claimed attention, Reuben Hussey, aged 19, son of lawyer George, got a certificate to depart probably to Maine where his uncle Batchelor lived. Two years later he married there. One of his sisters, it will be recalled had wed Clothier Pierce, Jr. of Newport and went there to live. Another daughter wed a son of Jonathan Folger named Reuben in 1743-4. Still a third daughter married Nathaniel Gardner III, heir and grandson of Captain Nathaniel, the minister who had died in England in 1714. Incidentally only one other Folger male married in this era, he being a cousin, Seth Folger, son of Shubael and grandson of Thomas Clark. He wed a daughter of Elihu Coleman in 1745. His sister Dinah it will be recalled ran

off in 1742 with Stephen Chase of Chilmark, on Martha's Vineyard and then apologized profusely. And the only full sister of Nathaniel Gardner III, Mary Gardner, married a widower Elisha Coffin in the late autumn of 1747. This Elisha Coffin had joined the meeting two years before when he married Rachel Gardner, daughter of James. Rachel died in 1746 in childbirth. As for Elisha he was a great-nephew of Dinah Starbuck, from another of the numerous non-Quaker branches of the huge Coffin clan.

In 1742 it became more or less the unwritten rule that monthly meeting should hold adjourned sessions at every Fifth-day meeting where necessity required. Chiefly the necessity arose as many marriage arrangements needed to be made. Also, in the autumn of 1742 the able elder Richard Worth died, aged 52, leaving his minister wife Sarah, and brothers William and Joseph, and a sister Judith (Worth) Macy. In 1749 Sarah took her family back home to her original Hampton Monthly Meeting, where she subsequently married a Friend named Meade. They were the third family circle to leave Nantucket as a sizeable grouping, the first having been the family of Batchellor Hussey, and the second being the household of widow Mary (Stannel) Newbegin.

Again in the autumn of 1742 there occurred the wedding of Richard Pinkham son of Shubael, the weaver, to a daughter of Samuel Coffin, the miller. Another son, Benjamin, married a daughter of William and Jemima Swain in 1744. A third son Shubael, Jr., left the meeting actively to marry a non-Quaker Gardner in 1746. And still a fourth son Ebenezer kicked over the traces completly disappearing "many years past" after whaling voyages in his youth. Then in 1744 the boy's uncle James Pinkham, a brother of Shubael, took as wife a widow, Sarah (Coffin) Stanton, whose husband Samuel Stanton, once of Westerly, Rhode Island, had died the year before. And the one death in the

Pinkham family itself was that of Eunice (Starbuck) Pinkham, childless wife of Theophilus and daughter of Jethro Starbuck. She passed away in 1745; and after 1748 her widower remarried.

And finally in the autumn of 1742 a certain Hezekiah Coffin joined the meeting by marrying a daughter of Captain Jethro Folger. Hezekiah was brother to Zaccheus Coffin and nephew to Dinah Starbuck. No others of this Coffin family joined Friends. A year later Hezekiah Gardner was married to a sister of Francis Swain. This Hezekiah (and the similarity of names is always a confusing factor) was son of the late Jethro Gardner. An elder brother, Peleg married the daughter of Elizabeth Gorham of Barnstable, and moved there in 1744. James, a third brother, married Judith Folger a daughter of Daniel and sister to the infamous smuggler, out of meeting in 1746. Again we are presented with evidence of the independent spirit of that household. He died in the spring of 1748, possibly lost off a whaler. A year later Judith married Caleb Macy, son of Richard and then astute business successor of Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., in the management of the Starbuck-Macy partnership. Judith's second marriage took place in the meeting-house. Also in the fall of 1743 their occurred the marriage of Hezekiah Gardner's cousin Zaccheus Gardner to a sister of Elisha Coffin. Zaccheus was son of Barnabas and Mary (Wheeler) Gardner. No others of his brothers married in these years.

1743 was the year that Daniel Paddock and his sloop was lost along with the youthful George Macy. Daniel's widow Susannah eventually re-married. Meanwhile she wed her daughter Elizabeth to Joseph Swain, a nephew of Caleb Swain in 1745. Two years later his brother Jonathan Swain Became a Friend by marrying a daughter of Captain Jethro Folger. It happened that two Swain cousins of these brothers finished off the

1748 complement of the Swain family. One Tristram, brother of Francis, married a daughter of Captain Richard Coffin in 1743. The other Reuben, a nephew of William Swain, from a hitherto non-Quaker family married Elizabeth Howland of Dartmouth under the care of the Friends meeting in that place in 1744. Though not reported among the off-island MARRIAGES in a previous chapter, Reuben and Elizabeth were among those who settled on Nantucket.

That autumn of 1743 a special committee was appointed to ~~assist~~ AID the overseers in work of inspecting the many Quaker households on the island. Minister Elihu Coleman was chairman and he was to be assisted by Captain Jethro Folger, chief elder Jethro Starbuck, and treasurer soon-to-be John Macy, Jr. Directly thereafter the first Tristram Coffin in the meeting proposed marriage with a daughter of Ebenezer Barnard. This Tristram was a great-grandson of the original Governor Tristram Coffin. His father, a son in turn of Stephen Coffin, Sr., named Peter was generally known as "Nope", to rhyme with his wife's name which was Hope (Gardner) Coffin. Neither were Friends. A brother of Tristram's, Robert Coffin also married under the care of Friends in 1744, when his bride was another daughter of miller Samuel Coffin. Yet another Tristram Coffin, it will be recalled from Edgartown, joined the meeting in 1744, with two of his brothers; Samuel earlier that year, and Jonathan in 1747; the Tristrams were second cousins of each other. It happened that the Edgartown Tristram's wife died unfortunately in childbirth two years after their marriage. Four years later Tristram remarried. His first wife was a daughter of the whaling magnate Zephaniah Coffin and his second of the whaling prince Paul Starbuck. Samuel's wife was a daughter of Jonathan Gardner, while Jonathan's came from the household of Robert Barnard.

Death was the transition to 1744. Tristram Gardner who was only a nominal Friend, having married into the Edgartown community, died. And we have already observed the meeting probating the estate of Nathaniel Barnard III. Another nominal Friend to die was Theodate (Hussey) Johnson the next year, aged 44. She was, it will be recalled, the rather difficult daughter of the equally difficult Stephen Hussey. She was replaced by a very valuable convinced Friend, Leah (Folger) Gardner-Paddock, aged 42, daughter of Nathan Folger, sister of Representative Abishai Folger, once widow of Richard Gardner III, later wife of Seth Paddock, and sister-in-law of Nathaniel Paddock, the Friend dealt with for drinking. In due season Leah Paddock was to develop into one of the outstanding elders of the meeting.

The autumn of 1744 was ushered in by the marriage of Christopher Gardner, son of Andrew, the blacksmith, to Priscilla Woodbury out of meeting. They soon went to her home in Boston to live, which transferred his inactive membership to the care of Salem Monthly Meeting. The apocryphal letter concerning the introduction of tea on Nantucket in 1745, supposedly written by a Ruth Starbuck Wentworth of Boston ~~has~~ MIGHT HAVE HAD a possible ~~real~~ basis in truth in the Gardner-Woodbury household of that city. That autumn of 1744 was also ushered in by the death of Peter Folger, the smuggler's brother, the day after he had proposed marriage with Lydia Pinkham, a niece of Shubael. A year later Lydia wed George Pollard, son of Philip and Mehitabel. It will be recalled that young Peter Folger's father Daniel Folger, aged 43, was also drowned at the same time. In the autumn of 1748, his widow Abigail (Folger) Folger merged her broken home with that of widower Daniel Pinkham, who had lost his Starbuck wife three years before. And in that autumn of 1744, as Edmund Heath entered the meeting, there were four marriage applications handled simultaneously.

The following autumn there was lost Daniel Coffin, 20 years old, son of Captain Richard, very possibly while out whaling. Another brother Christopher, a confirmed bachelor, was drowned in much later years. And in 1746, when Abraham Macy, son of Richard was swept overboard during a storm in the Bay of Biscay, Joseph Rotch, his captain, was so shaken that he gave up going to sea personally, and transferred the Rotch interests from the fish trade with Spain and Portugal, to the wine trade in the West Indies. Anna Macy, Abraham's widow, married again a good many years later. It was a difficult time for the women of Nantucket a harshness symbolized by the rough winter of 1745/6, when at least on one occasion they cancelled their monthly business session.

The same autumn that Abraham Macy was lost, Patience (Swain) Gardner, aged 56, died. She was wife of Samuel Gardner, having been a Friend for 37 years. She left a sizeable Quaker family. Samuel remarried shortly after the 1748 epoch. Their son Daniel Gardner it happened married a few months after his mother's death, when he exchanged vows with Provided Allen, daughter of Nathaniel. And Thomas Rodman a young Friend of Newport came over for the wedding. Two additional weddings not hitherto discussed, gladdened the prospects that autumn. Both involved new family names. A William Ray whose parents had moved onto the island appeared with Mary Clasby, daughter of William. And Mary Jenkins daughter of Matthews ran off with a William Butler of Martha's Vineyard, possibly a nephew of Mary (Butler) Worth. She no doubt met him while visiting her brother's house at Edgartown. And then the community returned to mourning with the death of Lydia (Paddock) Coleman, wife of Jethro in the early spring of 1747. A year later Elder Jethro remarried, choosing this time Lydia Macy, daughter of

Elder Thomas. There were five children to be raised. In the autumn of 1747, Dorcas Starbuck died, aged 72, having lived 53 years with Jethro, 44 years of them in the service of the Society of Friends. She left six children, all faithful Friends, and 38 grandchildren plus 4 great grandchildren, and, of course, one sister, Damaris Coffin. Altogether there were 50 survivors of the first women's clerk. She was one of a dozen of the choice Friends in the first half-century of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Two more funerals complete the decade. One was for Elder Sarah (Macy) Barnard, aged 81, mother of Robert and Matthew Barnard and as well Jemima, Elihu Coleman's wife. She was the last of the four Quaker Macy sisters. The four Quaker Macy brothers outlived them strangely enough. And lastly there was the funeral of the second men's clerk, Joseph Marshall, who died just before General Meeting in 1748, aged 77.

It must be confessed that family records for the 1738-1748 decade come in bewildering complexity. It seems wise however to take account of all marriages at least up till this date. In the fifteen years that lie ahead for this study, no further matches could possible produce grown children. Such being the case, only summaries of family growth will be henceforth presented, while what data is given will be developed upon what has already been covered.

A survey of the town and county records for the decade under question reveal that Friends continued to play a leading role, with few exceptions. Among those who served as selectmen are to be found: Thomas Macy, John Macy, Jr., Jabez Bunker, Paul Starbuck, Richard Coffin, Ebenezer Barnard, Thomas Starbuck, Samuel Coffin, Matthew Jenkins, Peter Barnard, Matthew Macy, and John Bunker. At no time were more than two of the seven selectmen non-Friends. And as earlier observed while most of the Grand Jury members were Friends, those on the Petty

Jury tended to be outside the Society. Until the war got well under way Shubael Pinkham served as one of the two constables. The town now was governed by over fifty elected officials including the new personnel who were called meat inspectors, tithing men, and timber surveyors. In 1741/2 the selectmen provided for a poor fund to help those bankrupted by inflation. A year later the town paid William and Jemima Swain $150.00 for vacating their dwelling which was utilized temporarily as a hospital during a smallpox epidemic.

The town decided to build a lighthouse on Brant Point, where one entered the harbor in 1746, the cost of which was to be levied upon all shippers who rounded the point. Jebez Bunker and Obed Hussey were two of the three men instructed to see that the structure was put up. And once again in 1746 the selectmen decreed that all the dogs on the island should be killed, as a defense for the herds of sheep on the Commons. Two years later the Proprietary got judgment of 30 stripes each upon Indians who had stolen some sheep. Those who stole goods from Obed Hussey's sloop wrecked at Tuckernuck in 1745, suffered 10 stripes each and were bound over to him for eight months labor. In 1747 two Indian girls were as thoroughly whipped and apprenticed to Thomas Bunker for a year, for robbery of his goods. And Joseph Rotch got the services of an Indian woman for three years plus ten stripes, as she stole a curtain from his house in 1741. Rotch in 1746, along with James Gardner procured licenses to sell strong drink, products of their West Indies trade. And historian-doctor-carpenter Zaccheus Macy committed an Indian to jail upon the affirmation of Richard Macy and Jabez Bunker that the man had stolen his cow. By contrast to the harsh treatment still given to the natives, a white man who stole sheep from the Proprietary was only fined. Yet an Indian woman did gain a judgment in 1748, that same year, from Peter Jenkins, whom she

claimed did not provide her with the proper clothes, which her apprenticeship contrast to learn cordwaining allowed her.

Examination of the bequests of Friends who departed this life also affords interesting insight upon the life of the era of King George's War. Elder Thomas Clark who died intestate in 1740 left a house valued at $11,000.00 indicating he was a man of moderate circumstances. His estate came to $42,242.00, a third of that left by Samuel Barker, whose wife incidentally felt compelled after his death to become a seamstress. Nathaniel Barnard III, son of Judith Wilcox whose estate was probated by the meeting left only $34,532.00 which was reduced to $34,160.00 when court costs were subtracted. Nevertheless it was a large estate to beheld by an unmarried youth. More impressive however was the estate of Daniel Folger, son of Judith Wilcox by ~~another~~ AN EARLIER husband, and father of the great smuggler Kezia Coffin whose property came to $76,082.00 including a quarter of a windmill, and one negro slave. Unfortunately Joseph Marshall's estate was not listed as to its valuation. Except for a few bequests to children had grandchildren, his ropewalk, warehouses, dock and whaling gear was donated to his widow, the colorful Abigail. The most illuminating estate, however, was that belonging to Jethro Gardner who died in 1734, but whose property, held up by technicalities, was not probated till fifteen years later. The estate came to $176,670.00 broken down as follows: house $20,000.00; warehouse $10,570.00; blacksmith shop and tools $3,969.20; half an old wharf $2,550.00; barn $1,500.00; 93 sheep commons with full privileges $49,155.20; Cash $27,973.20. The remaining $60,952.40 included 40 sheep and the value of Indian debts and personal effects, not separately enumerated. The figure of greatest interest for us is naturally the value of the 93 sheep commons,

which at this reading were valued at $526.40 apiece. The figure appears to be relatively accurate as George Gardners ten years before had sued for damages to the extent of $50,000.00. There were 156 sheep commons involved in that law case. The same 156 sheep commons still held in trust for Eunice (Starbuck) Gardner were worth $82,138.40 in 1749, an increase in valuation comparable to the rise of prices experienced on the island. One last will claims our attention and curiosity briefly. In 1748 the estate of the William Swan, who disappeared in 1733 from a marriage intention was probated. What property he held, probably off-island, was willed to a non-Quaker friend on Nantucket. He died a bachelor apparently.

The years from 1738 to 1748 were frankly difficult, especially where war and finances were war and finances were involved. The numbers of Friends, however, increased at the mean rate experienced previously. Fewer visitors came. More Friends emigrated. Yet the impression left with the student of the times, is that Nantucket was not difficient in courage or adaptability. Seen in retrospect these years were the final full expression of the original form of Quakerism as it was settled on the island, a Quakerism which was mild, tolerant, and genuinely adapted to the needs of the islanders.

Chapter 13

Era of the Seven Years War

1748-1758

Social changes are usually slow in the making. After long years in which the face of things remains unchanged, there appear a few tentative hesitant movements and these toward new directions, at first hardly discernible, as different from what has gone before. Then comes a more militant note, an undeniable bent on purpose which obviously clashes with the old traditional pattern. After another pause, there is apt to follow a whole series of radically different circumstances piling one, fast against the last, till whatever is left of the original way proves to be a kind of Indian summer, an apparent return to the old life which continues for a time, but only as a mask to hide the true nature of what the institution has become. In due season even the pretense of the appearance of the old ways disappears, and the new social change has been consummated indeed.

The bloodless revolution in Nantucket was one such social change. And the establishment of Quakerism proved another only less dramatic. The third social change occurred toward the end of the "old Colonial" period. In this instance the first tentative hesitant movements occurred in the years of prosperity after the close of King George's War. And the new era was fully launched by the middle of the next decade. This being the case, the years 1708 to 1763 constitute a single movement in the history of the island of Nantucket. We may properly designate the period as Nantucket colonial Quakerism. And as such we have the bounds of this book presented to us.

Early in the spring of 1752, Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting received an epistle from the London Meeting for Sufferings advising Colonial Friends

to accept the Act of Parliament, changing the calendar from the old style still current in England to the new style which had been adopted centuries earlier on the Continent, and actually reflecting more accurately celestial time than the traditional old style English calendar. The advice reached Nantucket in Second Month, 1752 and was immediately adopted by the men's meeting. Ten or eleven days were promptly dropped and the Second Month became the Fourth Month automatically. The change was read publicly the first First-Day in the new Fifth Month. Women Friends, though, they immediately accepted the loss of the days involved, still stood by the old terminology of the months till General Meeting time. Then apparently they were reconciled to the fact that the special time of retreat came just six months after and just six months before New Year's, cutting the calendar year neatly in two.

The fact of the change in the dating framework for monthly meeting, encouraged a change in the name of the meeting. Previously known as Nantucket Monthly Meeting, it was now generally called "our monthly meeting held at Sherbourne." Though nothing had happened to change the pattern organically on Nantucket, still two evidences of flexibility were noticeable.

Then late in 1752, sixty copies of Barclay's Catechism were ordered, offering a much stricter approach to Quakerism than George Fox's Primer had done. The latter book had been generally used for the instruction of Quaker youth. To use Barclay's Catechism indicated that at least some Friends were concerned to institute a stricter disciplinary approach. Ten of the sixty copies went to Samuel Coffin, which may well indicate he stood foremost in the reforming party. Three copies went to the schoolmaster Benjamin Coffin and one to Thomas

Macy, which left 46 copies for the generality of the membership. During the winter and spring months which followed, the reforming leaven was at work, so that in Fifth Month a reinforced Visitors Committee was appointed. Captain Jethro Folger was joint chairman with Anne Paddock, whose husband had so long before been dealt with for drinking. The members of the committee were Jabez Macy, Benjamin Barney, Hannah Bunker, (Jabez's wife), Abial Clasby, Mehitabel Pollard, Abigail Way, Love Swain (daughter of Anne Paddock), Jemina Coleman, and Hephzibah Barnard (daughter of Experience Coffin). To implement the work of the foregoing committee at its inception, "Whereas there hath been a Shortness in many things as to Discipline among Friends," three members were appointed to draw up a few lines of general advice to be read in monthly meeting subject to monthly meeting approval. The three named were Elihu Coleman, David Gardner and Benjamin Coffin. In Seventh Month the few lines were approved, and ordered read, but unfortunately for us not spread in the minutes.

The machinery was now set in motion, for a thorough overhauling of all social realtionships in the meetings. Sooner or later the deep probings of the visitors was sure to uncover the long smoldering resentments which had flared up in the law case of 1738. But other matters first claimed attention. In tenth month, 1753, Abishai Bunker and Dinah Coffin two young affianced Friends apologized to the preparative meeting for "outgoings", the nature of which can easily be presumed. Abishai was a grandson of elder Jabez and Dinah a daughter of Zephaniah, the whaling promoter.

General meeting in 1754 produced three Philadelphia Friends who gave the reforming party a tremendous boost forward. The first of these was Daniel Stanton, Jr., cousin of Samuel Stanton of Nantucket

and Henry Stanton, Jr. of Coresound Monthly Meeting, North Carolina, as before noticed. And he had already been on Nantucket nineteen years before, when he was guide to an English traveling Friend. Like Uncle Thomas Chalkley, he was engaged in the West Indies trade. He was again on Barbadoes in 1748. Three years in Europe followed where he had absorbed much of a reforming spirit there in process of incubation. His 1754 visit to Nantucket was unfortunate as he was overly fearful of taking an open boat to the island. Consequently after preaching and counselling reform he took the first vessell he could back to the mainland. His unfortunate timerity epitomized the spirit of fear which was a major ingredient of the puritanizing spirit now evident in the current reform.

Daniel Stanton's companion was a much lustier individual, none other than Israel Pemberton, Jr., "King of the Pennsylvania Quakers," (1715-1779), an elder of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to which he and Stanton belonged. Interestingly, Daniel Stanton died in Pemberton's home in 1770. Israel Pemberton was agressive, but generous and kind, a Joseph Rotch operating in a large theatre. He was launched in trade in 1735 when his courtship rivalry with Anthony Morris was the talk of social Philadelphia. In 1739, he was arrested for plain criticism of Governor Thomas Penn. As a merchant prince of Philadelphia he sent his ships under privateer convey, as he said, to reduce the insurance rates. Later he felt twinges of conscience, for in 1749 he wrote a friend "for I am more than ever convinced that it is impossible to be heirs of two kingdoms and wish there an inheritance in that which is eternal". Consequently he gave up merchandizing for real estate. At his second marriage to Samuel Jordan's widow in 1750,

the step-son Samuel Jordan, Jr., was very critical of the haste involved, though Daniel Stanton approved, and preached at the wedding. From 1743 Israel Pemberton had been chairman of the Yearly Meeting education committee, and then in 1750 he succeeded John Smith of Burlington as Yearly Meeting clerk, a position he held till after the period of this book. In 1752, he founded the second Insurance Company in America, and the year before the great Pennsylvania hospital, first in America, to which his family gave $15,000.00. A prudent, vigorous and relatively consistant Friend, his greatest usefulness lay immediately ahead. Though only an elder his impact, on Nantucket must have been as great or greater than that of John Woolman in 1747.

The third Friend was of Darby Monthly Meeting, Thomas Lightfoot, Jr., son of the Friend who migrated from Ireland in 1712 and was so active on the 1718 discipline committee unfortunately we can't speak definitely of his contribution to the Nantucket situation. By the way of incidental interest, it is well to observe that the annual report on the state of Nantucket Monthly Meeting when these Friends were on the island included the fact that the actual membership numbered over a thousand. Two months later William Rotch son and heir of Joseph, proposed marriage with Benjamin Barney's daughter Elizabeth, the third great Nantucket woman Friend after Mary and Anna Starbuck. She was a descendant of the great Mary through the chief elder Jethro, whose original whimsies she most nearly recaptured. Into William and Elizabeth Rotch's hands was to be placed much of the future greatness of Nantucket. Their wedding, held just after the initial explosion of the coming social revolution probably gave a gray cast to the initial phase of an

unusually happy life-long companionship. The Nantucket-old problem of proprietary ownership had again claimed the center of the island stage.

We can trace the firm property-conscious hand of Israel Pemberton in the minute of Seventh Month of 1754, which declared that those Friends who persisted in turning out their "Creatures upon the Commons under a pretended Right & C" specifically upon the section of land acquired finally in 1738 by the Starbuck trust, were to be considered outside the unity of the meeting. The Friends thus summarily disowned were relatively prominent at least in one or two cases. Philip Pollard, husband of elder Mehitabel Pollard, was first named. An Englishman by origin, he saw little justice in the island's unique system of land-holding. William Russell the second offender was a Macy through his father's mother, and a Starbuck through his mother, actually a grandson of the late Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. The fact that that worthy minister had died during the preceding winter, lends weight to the supposition, that as long as the patriarch lived, his prestige acted as leverage to keep the proprietary quarrel underground. William Russell was more interested in what he felt to be Russell rights than Starbuck pretensions. A third alleged offender was Samuel Bunker, eldest son of Jabez Bunker and husband of Priscilla Coleman's daughter of the same name. The Bunkers had for generations maintained pasturage rights in the Quaise neighborhood, a practice which had continued much longer than the twenty years needed to establish ordinarily a legal right of way. He was especially critical of his brother-in-law Elihu Coleman the minister and spokesman for the Starbuck trust. The last named Peleg Gardner, though a participant in the Starbuck trust through his late

father, Jethro Gardner inherited a traditional grazing right in the Quaise-Polpis and through his mother back to Stephen Coffin, the original holder of the 1664 deed, and original developer of the area. Like Samuel Bunker, Peleg Gardner was out to defend what he considered rights rendered legal by occupation. Three of the situations produced acute family and personal tensions. Only in the case of Philip Pollard was the situation free of inner conflict - which may account later for the facile solution in which he was concerned.

A month after Pollard, Russell, Bunker and Gardner were turned out of meeting, new and less hasty counsel prevails. The whole matter was discussed again and Silvanus Hussey recorded that the judgment "of the major part of the meeting" was that the four offenders should be dealt with before actually being disowned. Thereby although suspended from their functions as members the four were not actually placed outside the membership. Another month passed, and the dissident minority had formulated their line of attack. First they won over as spokesman for them, the prominent overseer David Gardner, who was interestingly enough married to a participant in the Starbuck trust, namely Mary (Gardner) Gardner, daughter of Samuel Gardner, but was nevertheless drawn by her to defend her close friend and first cousin, Peleg Gardner. Probably as selectman for Sherbourne, he felt a responsibility to act in an inequitable situation. What David Gardner did was to make an official complaint that his brother-in-law Paul Bunker had been so zealous for the trust as to drive off the land in question, sheep belonging to the men now under dealing. Now this particular Paul Bunker was an especial thorn in the side of his brother Samuel Bunker, then under dealing. Paul Bunker had married Hannah Gardner, a sister of the complainant David Gardner, but unlike

his brother or brother-in-law had been swung over to the Starbuck interests, very probably in an excess of zeal to prove himself an efficient tithing man, or collector of sheep commons taxes. For this was the official capacity in which he acted. As in the case of the proverbial convert, Paul Bunker perhaps felt a sense of guilt at disagreeing with ~~disenting~~ the traditional Bunker contentions. He may well have attempted to drive the sheep in question off the common in order to precipitate another court case, in which, the men who had first originally been disowned so abruptly, could then be sued at law with impunity and without breaking the discipline of the meeting which forbad law cases between members. Such tactics were carried out by the so-called orthodox parties in the great separation of 1827-1828. If such deliberate "framing" of the four men under dealing was actually attempted, we must look farther than the zealous figure of Paul Bunker, to search for a carefully calculating planner. At least some of the visiting committee must then be implicated. The betterness current against Elihu Coleman seems to indicate that he was at least in some measure responsible for the move on the part of the tithing man.

Viewed at from this angle David Gardner's complaint appears as consequence to the misfiring of a too logical plot to get control of a valuable piece of land, on the part of a too confident dominant minority in the meeting. They hadn't taken account "of the major part of the meeting." Their definite uneasiness in Eighth Month must have become outright dismay in the Ninth Month. The major part of the meeting now turned to older tried Friends to act as a committee of arbitration in the David Gardner-Paul Bunker case. As chairman they drew in the 82 year old Jethro Starbuck, who though one of the dominant party was widely recognized for his rugged honesty and ability to laugh at himself and

his own. No better man was found when there was hope of recovering Stephen Hussey back in 1717. Jethro accepted the responsibility, though he had of late retired more and more from meeting activities. To assist him were the recent ex-treasurer John Macy, Jr. and Captain Jethro Folger. Both were of the reforming party in the meeting, but both were known to have been unquestionably upright in character.

Then to satisfy the dominant minority, a second committee was named to persuade those under dealing to cease turning out their creatures upon the commons in question. To chair the committee Thomas Macy was chosen. To assist him in the delicate, rather impossible task, there were named his brother Richard Macy, his brother-in-law William Worth, school-teacher Joseph Marshall, Jr., the promising son of the late clerk, and by a stroke of genius, the complainant, David Gardner. The Starbuck trust hoped now that they would wean away from the dissident minority, its one apparently influential friend.

Winter came on with neither the specific case, nor the general committee work brought to any helpful conclusion. Consequently in Twelfth Month, 1754, a new committee was named to bring the matter before this winter Quarterly Meeting. David Gardner, now acceptable to both sides was named chairman, to be assisted by Joseph Marshall, known to be intelligent and objective, and Benjamin Coffin, also known to be intelligent and objective, and as well trained in the intricacies of proprietary business. When only a young man, Benjamin procured by skillful management the off-island share of his brother Charles, which action so won the confidence of his mother Damaris Coffin, that she turned over her son all her own proprietary shares. In other words, school-teacher Coffin owned both his parents' shares in his own right. And when George Bunker relinquished the clerkship of the Proprietary, in 1744, Benjamin Coffin assumed that responsibility

in which he continued till after the 1763 era. It is hard to conceive of a more objective or clear-spoken committee having been chosen to initiate off-island Friends, into the complexities of the island situation.

Monthly meeting that 30th of Twelfth Month must have been a stormy session. Richard Macy, Starbuck partner though he was, had come to appreciate a wider view of the case than was inherent in the strict legalistic outlook. Legalism removed even farther from the community the genuine operation of democratic opportunity which was so sadly needed. In addition, Richard Macy was becoming increasingly critical of Elihu Coleman and his associates. After much inconclusive discussion, monthly meeting adjourned to the morrow. The major part of the meeting was now willing to appoint a committee to deal also with the dominant minority. The adjourned session consequently appointed Richard Macy chairman of a fourth committee to deal with the Starbucks, as well as with the four men already under a cloud. Captain Jethro Folger and the ubiquitous David Gardner accepted appointment to aid the wharf-builder in his difficult assignment. All three apparently continued incongrously as part of the original committee whose action was explicitly slanted in favor of the Starbuck trust. On the other hand they probably gave prededence to their later instructions, which were in effect to weigh the case objectively between the dominant minority and the dissident minority. As this particular adjourned session was held not at the meetinghouse, but at Joseph Marshall's schoolhouse, there may well have taken place a division which might have divided the membership permanently, had hasty counsels prevailed. It cannot be imagined that Paul and Tristram Starbuck, and all their sons and cousins and nephews

were suspended in their function of membership. What is indicated was that the Starbuck interest and control was for the first time in the history of the meeting being scrutinized by the membership at large. It was a truly great tribute to Jethro Folger that he should be entrusted with inquiring into his won wife's family. There must have been some feeling akin to panic in the dominant household, as things took such an unfriendly, unforseen development. The coolness toward Elihu Coleman was retaliated by coolness toward Richard Macy on the part of the Starbuck clan.

Because of the appointment of committee number four, committee number three, that is the committee requested to report to Quarterly Meeting, simply sat tight to wait developments. Committee number two under the chairmanship of Thomas Macy reported in First Month 1755 that they had labored long and conscientiously with the dissident minority to try to get them to withhold grazing sheep "but cannot Dissuade them from it." Every member of the committee signed the document except Joseph Marshall, Jr., who probably felt he should keep an unbiased record for use with his fellow schoolmaster Benjamin Coffin, should they be called to Newport. David Gardner showed no such hesitation, but as he was on the committee to investigate the Starbuck trust, he evidently felt his record was sufficiently ambiguous to allow his name to appear on the other side of the issue.

In Third Month Richard Macy's committee reported they had carefully investigated the Starbuck trust title and were convinced that the 1664 deed was genuine, and that its registering was legal. Nor did they find any action on the part of the dominant minority which was contrary to law or the Quaker discipline. The Starbucks breathed easier again, especially as Richard Macy, Jethro Folger and David Gardner were released from this particular appointment.

The next development in the case rather confused than simplified issues, although good will was intended to have been released by the participants. It was General Meeting time again in 1755. Three more visiting Friends appeared, hoping to pour oil on the troubled waters. The first of these was only temporarily a Philadelphia Friend. He was Samuel Fothergill (1715-1772), son of John Fothergill who first reached Nantucket in 1706. Carrying a minute from Hardshaw Monthly Meeting Yorkshire. Dr. Fathergill had been dispatched by the London Meeting for Sufferings in part with the assignment of persuading Pennsylvania Friends to withdraw from an impossibly inconsistant position involved in continuing to manage the now not-so-Holy Experiment. Of this situation there will be more to be said later. Here it is appropriate to note that Samuel Fothergill's second assignment was to steady the emotional currents in the Society of Friends, especially as the Great Awakening in the religious world had upset certain Quaker areas in the colonies. As concomitant to such efforts, he was expected to share the reforming spirit now so very evident in London Yearly Meeting Specifically Fothergill was to assist the daughter Yearly meetings in the formulation of new queries, to tighten up the control of the membership by the specially designated groups: ministers, elders and overseers. Perhaps the most important London Friend to visit America since the days of William Penn, it is not surprising that he applied himself to the Nantucket imbroglio.

Who should he meet while staying for Yearly Meeting in Newport at his uncle John Proud's, but none other than David Gardner who was a Rhode Island Monthly Meeting respresentative. No doubt Father-gill listened to a great tale of contentions and counter-claims, though he probably did not try to get at the heart of the mad jumble.

In his journal however, he wrote "divisions and contentions, the certain companions of the spirit of this world have hurt them, as they have subsisted amongst the leaders of the people, their example has been injurious to others." In spite of the sad state of affairs he felt encouraged over the younger people, noting some 1500 persons at the General Meeting, while perhaps 400 men who might otherwise attend were off the island whaling (crews of about sixty sloops). The case of Friends he felt to be sound, but was of the opinion most had joined to escape the expense of a clergyman's salary. One feels instinctively that Samuel Fothergill got in over his depth in the foregoing observation, which is interesting though irrelevant. His attempt to bring peace domestically likewise meets this discription. After a quick trip back to the Vineyard for an appointed meeting he was off again this time to Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. When the letter arrived there was so much disagreement over the appropriateness of its being read at all that a special session of monthly meeting had to be adjourned to 4:00 p.m. the next day, when at last there appeared to be sufficient unity to attempt a public reading. That special session in Seventh Month, or at least the "major part of the meeting" accepted at least the intentions of the writer. The letter was divided into four parts. Firstly, Fothergill inquired as to the quality of spirit in which the discipline was being carried forward. Secondly, though he expressed himself as being easy in his mind at not knowing what had caused the controversy on the island, he was sure that those who turned out cattle upon the commons without heeding the advice of the monthly meeting were in error. Thirdly, Fothergill prescribed Quarterly Meeting arbitration. And fourthly, he justified his stepping into the controversy by the fact of his motivation was

purely to promote love and unity among all the parties concerned. The chief trouble with the letter was that the writer didn't know enough about the case. Specifically he didn't seem to realize that sheep not cattle were involved, nor did he realize that sheep had been turned out on the same plot of ground, by the heirs and assigns of the same people who originally had pasturage rights in the area sixty and more years before any question had arisen concerning the legality or the disciplinary appropriateness of such action. And peculiarly enough Fathergill recommended Quarterly Meeting arbitration when he should have remembered that the session of monthly meeting in which he sat, had revived specific instructions for committee number three, namely: David Gardner, Joseph Marshall, Jr. and Benjamin Coffin to bring the matter without fail before the next session in Newport in Seventh Month. Unless we excuse him as having been drowsy and inattentive, which is difficult to do under the circumstances, how can we explain Dr. Fathergill's bothering to prescribe in a letter a course of action already decided upon in his presence? But rather than exercise too great freedom in criticizing Samuel Fathergill's limp attempt at arbitration, we should remember him for his constructive work in other fields, which indirectly helped the meeting on Nantucket. His assistance in the formulation of standards of Quaker conduct, and his zeal in backward parts of the American colonies were to bring their fruits. He is in large measure responsible for the second spread of Quakerism in Maine, a movement which culminated in our day in the life of Rufus Jones. We can well note that when Dr. Fathergill departed on the Charming Polly, he had traveled 8,765 miles, and was carrying back to England the endorsements of two Yearly Meetings two Quarterly Meetings, and three monthly meetings. And his foodstuffs

were so extensive upon embarkation that it allowed for banqueting for the passengers and crew all the quick 39 days trip home.

Fothergill's Nantucket companions were thorough-going Philadelphians. John Pemberton (1727-1795) brother of Israel was his chief friend on this trip. John was a mystic, a dreamer, with no head for business. Consequently in good Philadelphia fashion they supported their brother, these Pembertons, sending him constantly where he did no harm, butwhere indeed his gentle spirit was a benediction. He was John Churchman's companion in Europe from 1750-1753. Later in life he was sent into exile to Winchester, Virginia by patriot Americans who feared Quaker pro-Tory sentiments. There the gentle John buried the vigorous Israel. And in 1795 John himself died in Bad Pyrmont in Germany where his grave is today in the meetinghouseyard of the German Yearly Meeting. What could he do but encourage love as the solvent of all the tensions he encountered on Nantucket in 1755?

The third visitor was William Logan (1687-1757) an elderly uncle to John Smith of Burlington and brother to the wordly cultivated James Logan. He was the only Quaker currently in the Pennsylvania Governor's council, a position which indicated he was a prudent and strict Friend. As confidant of Israel Pemberton he was most useful during the labyrinthine difficulties of the Seven Years War period.

Having joined Dr. Fothergill and John Pemberton on Long Island, William Logan may have come along as an agent acting for Israel Pemberton to strengthen Fothergill's pro-Starbuck bias, and to report to the "king of the Quakers" a careful analysis of what was in progress on the island.

Before the committee of Nantucket Friends could appear in Newport as requested by the monthly meeting, and subsequently suggested by Samuel Fothergill, the last named of the committee, Benjamin Coffin, begged

release from his appointment. The occasion was the second especially called session in which the Fothergill epistle was read. Benjamin was probably disconcerted at the prospect of trying to explain the whole tangled business to lesser intelligences, when such a weighty Friend as Dr. Fothergill could demonstrate no greater insight. And Coffin may also have felt it to be extremely awkward to appear both as impartial representative, and as Clerk of the Proprietary at the same time. And further he may have reasoned that as Elihu Coleman has been appointed the regular representative to Quarterly Meeting along with David Gardner, before the latter had been requested to take the report of the Commons Committee to Newport, that Elihu could very well substitute for him. At any rate, Benjamin was excused.

Two years had passed by this time since the first large reforming committee had been appointed. The meeting thereupon decided, after handling the Fothergill letter et al, to name a new visitors committee. The then current somewhat anti-Starbuck feeling was reflected in the appointment of Richard Macy to replace Jethro Folger as chairman. Barnabas Gardner, and David Gardner replaced Jabez Macy and Benjamin Barney respectively. Jabez Macy had been quite bitter in his remarks toward several in the meeting, whereas David Gardner seemed to thrive on the continuous upheaval. Jethro Folger needed to put time on his whaling enterprises, and Benjamin Barney was fully occupied with his new position of town sealer of weights. Barnabas Gardner, grandson of the late Mary Starbuck, was apparently considered a "safe" man. The new committee did not materially change the then current tensions. Their responsibility was increased, however, in three weeks time when the new Queries, suggested by Samuel Fothergill, and adopted by the Yearly Meeting in Newport

arrived, and were sent down to be answered in the sessions of Preparative Meeting. In conjunction with the women's visitors still under appointment from two years before, they were expected to scrutinize the membership and suggest possible answers. Two of the new queries, one on love and unity, and the other on carrying out disciplinary decisions, applied directly to the unstable Nantucket situation. More account of the new queries will be given later.

Meanwhile we should follow David Gardner and Joseph Marshall, Jr. in their efforts to seek the assistance of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting. Apparently Elihu Coleman took a very minor role, preferring to leave the business to those specifically entrusted with it, and it is just possible he did not attend at all, feeling relieved of that responsibility in the light of the later committee instructions. On the other hand, he may have limited his attendance to the Select Quarterly Meeting which transmitted another group of queries to the morning meeting, a series prepared in conference with Samuel Fothergill at Select Yearly Meeting time. Forty-three Friends worked in collaboration with the English Friend, two of whom were Nantucketers--Nathaniel Coleman and Hephzibah Hussey. Here again was definite evidence of the major change which was taking place in colonial Quakerism. A new age was in process of coming into being.

But to return to the main business at hand, David Gardner and Joseph Marshall Jr. presented the problem in Newport early in Seventh Month 1755 as they were requested to do. Immediately a very weighty committee was named to confer with the two representatives informally, where problems could be threshed out easily and helpful advice arrived at. Abraham Anthony perhaps a son of merchant William Anthony of Newport was chosen chairman. To assist him were named Jacob Mott, Jr.

whose family had nurtured Nantucket Meeting into being, Joseph Jacob, the Quarterly Meeting treasurer, John Collins, Jr., probably of Swansea Monthly Meeting, John Green of Patowammet in Greenwich Monthly Meeting, book agent for that meeting, Abraham Barker, probably kin of the Nantucket Barkers, and Abraham Tucker of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. Although the matter was left under the care of this very competent group, the Quarterly Meeting did feel free to state that Nantucket Monthly Meeting in its corporate capacity still had "a use" in the case, and encouraged the committes under appointment to continue with their dealing. Further a specific advice was sent back to Nantucket to be sure all "contention and personal reflection" was kept out of business sessions, as well as those personalities who were turbulent and quarrelsome. Apparently conditions were anything but calm, many bitterly vindictive words having been spoken when Friends settled down to transact the business of the Society. Discourtesies had been engaged upon to the point where it seemed at times as though the religious spirit would be completely dissapated.

Both David Gardner and Joseph Marshall, Jr., served on the committee to prepare the Quarterly Meeting message which was always sent out to the monthly meetings four times a year. Both as regards their specific assignment, and from the overall vantagepoint, they were well qualified to report back that Nantucket Meeting should continue the case even though a Quarterly Meeting Committee was under appointment. One last word on the matter was given in the special Quarterly Meeting letter which stated categorically that it was proper to take up such as the commons case even if the meeting were an interested party. Here indeed is an extreme statement, one which later the Quarterly Meeting had good reason to retract. Even the most sympathetic observer must confess that Quarterly Meeting did little more than to

shift the uneasy responsibility right back where it came from. Nothing was nearer a solution.

Meanwhile the dominant minority had decided to act quickly and decisively. Richard Macy their chief critic was well tied up in the machinery of the new queries. At the Eighth Month business session when the Gardner-Marshall Committee reported back, Thomas Macy of the original commons committee announced that Philip Pollard was agreeable to stop pasturage, but that the others were not, Samuel Bunker refusing even to talk with the committee. The original large committee was then released. Another small committee composed of Jethro Coleman and Jabez Macy were asked to talk with William Russell and Peleg Gardner. This they did and then appeared in Ninth Month 1755 to state they had labored to no avail. Thereupon disownment papers were issued for the said William Russell and Peleg Gardner, and of course for Samuel Bunker as well. The small committee was continued in order for them to deliver the proper documents of expulsion. Naturally the committee chaired by Jethro Starbuck appointed to inquire into the case of Paul Bunker was now discontinued, as the matter of driving off sheep from pasturage was already to be taken to the courts. After the disownment papers were delivered the case was presumed to be closed. At least this was the information carried to Quarterly Meeting by Jethro Folger, David Gardner and Richard Mitchell in the autumn of 1755, where they had opportunity to discuss the whole matter with Samuel Fothergill and William Logan once again. But the case was not closed after all. The Quarterly Meeting committee was not wholly satisfied with the outcome, consequently at the mid-winter session, they referred the whole Commons problem to Yearly Meeting. Even on Nantucket there was no certainty that the storm had abated. A special session of monthly meeting was held to take account of the action of

the Quarterly Meeting in Eleventh Month. No dissention occurred and the words "in unity" are all that we have to describe the occasion.

That unity was not too lasting, however, for two months later when "A motion was made" to name another Elder, this to say the least unquakerly parliamentary move, was blocked by those who were satisfied with the status quo. An obscure situation, it carries with it unmistakably partizan overtones. We don't have the query answers which were transmitted for the first time from the preparative meeting that spring. However, an interesting evidence of the tightening of the discipline occurred at General Meeting time, when the first formal application for membership was received. A certain John Waterman, hitherto of Warwick, Rhode Island, addressed a letter to the meeting desiring "to conduct my life & Conversation agreeable with the Rules & Orders Appointed by Friends." His mother sent a letter of permission dated "April 20, 1756, and Warwick Preparative Meeting of Greenwich Monthly Meeting sent a note to the effect that he had been a regular attender at their meetings for worship. Thus fortified he was admitted, and subsequently married Elizabeth Beard eldest daughter of the John Beard who had migrated from the Isle of Wight. Unfortunately the documentation did not save him a few years later from disownment for adultery.

About the same time New England Yearly Meeting discussed the Nantucket Commons Case and laid it over till another year. The Seven Years War next made an important impact upon the island, its Quakerism, and the discipline. Though it is not appropriate here to cover the story in full, we should observe that the levying of militia fines heightened tensions in the meeting. Some paid. Some refused to pay the tax placed on conscientious objectors with the object of equipping substitutes.

Friends already at odds with each other over the Proprietary had further occasion for misunderstanding.

And as always seems to be the case in wartime, outsiders flock to the Society of Friends, motivated in part at least and quite naturally so, by a need for protection. War crystalized latent pacifist scruples. By the mid-century of the 1700's, the Quaker name was widely known, even respected as far afield as among the Catholic French and Spanish. Consequently the trend toward distinct membership qualifications on Nantucket progressed rapidly. In the spring of 1757 "it being war", Jethro Folger was named chairman of a committee composed of David Gardner, William Clasby (once of England), Barnabas Gardner and Benjamin Coffin to decide by what rules or methods attenders of Friends meeting should become fullfledged members, or participants in the business meetings. The recommendation of the able committee was accepted six weeks later as follows: first, all persons who attended meeting for discipline before the 27th of Eight Month 1753, three and one-half years earlier, and well antidating all rumors of war, were to be considered bonafide members. Incidentally the date also coincided with the first statement of the first reforming visitors committee. What was said in effect was that all practicing Friends at the end of the old easy-going colonial era could be rightly considered as belonging. Second, all others, who had subsequently begun to take an interest in the Society, were to apply for membership and be dealt with individually by the Elders and Overseers. Actually an unforseen awkward situation arose. Some who had been but nominal Friends, and who had neglected to attend business meetings in the years before 1753 suddenly found they had individually to apply to be reinstated in full membership. On the other hand, apparently the meeting

at this juncture, was willing to allow inactive, one-time members, to be carried in a sort of half-Quaker membership.

The occasion for the definite decision regarding membership was the application of a number of young men "bound on a Whale Voyage" each desiring a certificate of full Quaker membership, lest they be impressed into the English or French naval fleets. Altogether 19 such certificates were issued in the decade under consideration.

Meanwhile the problem of tax distraints increased materially during the fall of 1757 and winter of 1757-58. David Gardner and Benjamin Barney were asked to sit with the elders with special responsibility for those "under Difficulty respecting the malitia or War or Fines." So occupied were New England Friends generally with the difficulties under which they had to operate that the Commons Case was not revived at Yearly Meeting in 1757. However, in 1758 the case was transmitted to London Yearly Meeting for settlement. Perhaps Friends felt that since Dr. Fothergill had suggested Quarterly Meeting arbitration, he should have the opportunity to sit in on the final disposition of the case. So it was that as Nantucket Monthly Meeting marked its first fifty years of growing activity, the meeting became known in London for presenting English Quakerism with the thorniest problem of disciplinary dealing every produced by American Quakers. The fact that the Nantucket commons case was still under discussion, and was in actuality still in Quaker litigation, allowed for "a very unsettled atmosphere on Nantucket. We shall discover that in the five years ahead between 1758 and 1763 not only was the newly formulated pattern of Quakerism put into effect, but the whole Commons situation received completely unexpected and upsetting treatment. At this point, however, we must leave the absorbing business in its unfinished state

and notice more fully the background against which the Nantucket drama had been unfolding.

Strangely enough, as far as the Quaker world was concerned, New England slipped into the background leaving central as backdrop, the dramatic conclusion of the Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania. Perhaps the collapse of the Quaker domination in that richest of the English colonies only underscored more dramatically the continuing Quaker control on the island of Nantucket. The dramatic withdrawal of the consistent Friends from politics in 1756 was caused by two hard facts. First the people of Pennsylvania were no longer predominately "plain" nor well intentioned toward the Indians. For instance the frontier country was settled almost entirely by warlike Scots-Irish Presbyterians who held old testament ideas concerning the "gentile" Indians. Second, the inner body of Friends had abandoned real simplicity and spirituality for worldly ends. All that was needed was another war between the French and the English to reveal these two outstanding deficiencies. That war began in 1754 through imperial conflict over the forks of the Ohio, and like its predecessor war spread to the European scene where it is known of course as the Seven Years War.

Anthony Benezet, Washman's close collaborator in the work of helping negro slaves, was acutely observant when he wrote "one would think, by the general conduct of even the better sort of Friends in matters of property, that some of our Saviors positive injunctions to his followers had no meaning". And again, "there are some who although they have a large affluence of wealth, yet are toiling hand to add thereto, without knowing wherefor they tail. . . they think it a mighty thing. . . if they can add £ 1000 or £ 10,000 to £ 10,000. . . now, that such a person...may be esteemed a religious man...because he is rich and great is a mere paradox; yet it is too often the case."

The social radicalism of the early Friends remained as a heritage, however, to temper the developing capitalism and wealth consciousness of Quaker Pennsylvania. Unfortunately that social radicalism degenerated into personal philanthrophy all too often. The case of Israel Pemberton, the leader of the great reform party, is illustrative of the conflict engendered. John Woolman wrote of such as Pemberton they " have at times been affected with a sense of their difficulties, and appearing desirous [prayed]. . . to be helped out of them" but had for lack of thoroughgoing religious commitment, found no solution to their dilemnas.

Politically the Quakers of Pennsylvania had ceased to quarrel with each other in 1726 when James Logan was dismissed by Penn's widow. Both parties now united against the proprietors and their non-Quaker governors. John Penn was the only son of the founder who died at least a nominal Quaker. Richard early joined the Anglican Church and Thomas also left Friends in 1751. By 1736 the proprietors had organized an anti-Quaker party. There followed then the scandalous fraud, the so-called walking purchase of 1737 which was the ground of so much subsequent Indian unrest. In 1742 the Delawares broke with the Iroquois which omened ill for the peace of the area, as the Delawares were angry at having lost their lands and were now free of the chief English Indian allies. In 1751 they were ready for war. When General Braddock was defeated in 1755 as he attempted to sieze the fork of the Ohio: Fort Duquesne, then in French hands, the Delawares went over to the French and the Pennsylvania frontier went up in flames and war-whoops.

The Quaker assembly found itself in a particularly embarrassing position. Following the precedent of voting "grain" during King George's War, $250,000 had been allowed to equip Braddock's soldiers.

Apparently already at war with the Indians, they must either scrap their peace testimony to fortify the frontier, or allow the Indians to murder and pillage as they pleased. The dilemma was so paralyzed the Quaker party that Benjamin Franklin chief critic of the strict Quakers, found himself head of the dominant political party in 1755. Under his leadership, and because they were threatened by irate Pennsylvania Germans, the Assembly voted $3,000,000 to equip voluntary militia companies. It was at this juncture that Samuel Fothergill and other English Friends advised withdrawal from the political scene on the part of the Philadelphia Friends. Israel Pemberton then entered the political arena with a double-barrelled policy. He set out to make peace with the Delawares in the name of William Penn, and he set out to destroy limb and branch, all that was worldly in the Society of Friends. In the later instance he nearly caused a separation, while an actual decline in Philadelphia Quaker membership is supposed to have occurred.

As far as a peace policy for the Delawares was concerned, he was remarkably successful. Despite lack of cooperation on the part of the proprietary party, the imperial Indian bureau, and individual white traders of wide reputation. Israel succeeded in calling off the war along the Pennsylvania borders after eight months of actual fighting. The few later incidents which occurred were isolated raids from Indians beyond the area of the Delaware armistice which was declared in Sixth Month 1756. Altogether 200 whites had been killed and an equal number taken prisoner. A series of Indian Conferences held at Easton extended the truce area to the Iroquois and the trans-Ohio tribes. What success was achieved must be attributed to Israel Pemberton and his financial supporters in the so-called "Friendly Association." Actually what was done was to create a neutral state composed of the Delaware Indians

and managed through gifts and promises of redress of the walking purchase and other abuses. The neutral state acted as a buffer between the English and French military forces and was a great reproach to the authority of Sir William Johnson, imperial Indian commissioner for the northern Colonies. Historians have frequently been critical of Pemberton as unvalistic in the face of imperial conflict, but no matter what might have happened, the Friendly Association did keep the lives and property of the Pennsylvania citizens, while ironically the peace policy so disowned the western Indians that the French had to retire without fighting from Fort Duquesne in 1758. Actually Pemberton's ultimate idea was adopted in the Indian Proclamation Line of 1763. The Friendly Association meanwhile bestrived itself financially to train Indians in the ways of the sophisticated English culture.

Earlier there had occurred group resignations from the Assembly on the part of consistant Friends, especially in the spring of 1756 when Pemberton and Fothergill only narrowly stopped the governor from putting a price on Indian scalps. Among those six who resigned were Pemberton himself and John Smith his predecessor as Yearly Meeting Clerk. Later that year the meeting for Sufferings persuaded four of the sixteen Friends elected to the Assembly to resign. The others were purely nominal members. After resigning, the Quaker leaders devoted themselves to supporting the Friendly Association, raising $100,000 at its initial meeting. Other large sums followed. One of the chief considerations which allowed for easy collection was the realization that if the war came speedily to an end the property tax levied to raise the $3,000,000 for defense might well be forgiven. As it was Israel Pemberton among others of the more consistent Friends were conscience-bound not pay the tax at all. As it was, the war cost Pennsylvania

$24,250,000 in indebtedness plus $5,000,000 to be raised in taxes, a total of $29,250,000: which when joined to the funded debt of the colony came to $33,250,000.

With the support of many younger Friends who had absorbed, perhaps unconsciously, much of the religious zeal of the Great Awakening, Philadelphia Quakerism abandoned political responsibility, and emerged a disciplined social group, prepared to expand in the most spectacular growth in the history of the Society. It is now appropriate to inquire how the foregoing contributed to Nantucket during the decade from 1748 to 1758.

In the first place Nantucketers were particularly interested in following the cover of the great anti-Quaker leader Benjamin Franklin, whose mother was the first Peter Folger's only Nantucket-born daughter. As a matter of fact Benjamin Franklin's first cousin John Coleman, Jr., sat head of Nantucket meeting during the troubled years. In the second place, the island was host to Israel Pemberton, to Samuel Fothergill, and to several others who were the chief participants in the Pennsylvania struggle. And in the third place, the conduct of Philadelphia Friends under war pressure served as a gauge for Nantucket Quaker behavior.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle which concluded King George's War in 1748 brought a period of mercantile doldrums to the colonies. Nantucket whaling, however, was unaffected as the very profitable system of subsidy initiated by the Board of Trade, earlier noticed, made for spanking profits. Nevertheless as trade expanded, it seemed well to insure larger and larger capital outlays. John Hunt and Elias Bland, the latter eventually bankrupted and disowned, were the Chief London Quaker insurance agents, although the first American Insurance Company

had appeared in Philadelphia in 1721. The usual policy was to forward sealed orders canceling the insurance for the next subsequent voyage, so that as soon as the second vessell docked safely, the insurer was saved some months premiums, which would otherwise be paid as he waited for news to cross the Atlantic, and then sent a delayed cancellation. The practice was early developed in Philadelphia, and as Philadelphia epitomized the governmental economic and humanitarian ideal of American Quakerism the patterns were early copied on Nantucket. Incidentally Philadelphia had remained clear of illegal French trading until after 1748, a scruple never observed in Quaker Newport. For instance 1749 marked a particularly flagrant collusion between Quaker collector of Newport and Quaker Governor Gideon Wanton of Rhode Island is allowing illegal French ships escape from Rhode Island waters. Probably Nantucket followed more closely the Philadelphia pattern, partly because their largest investments ignored the West Indies, and partly because in matters of general ethics Nantucketers appear to have been more sensitive than Rhode Islanders. In all three centers of Quaker colonial trade; Philadelphia, Newport, and Nantucket, there was to be found orderliness, laconic speaking, and careful planning. Ironic as it may seem one leading Philadelphia merchant prince recommended the business views of Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography as expressing the Quaker "ideal of industry, of early attention to business, frugality and temperance..." No doubt Franklin's apprenticeship among Friends in turn carried its influence.

"No people in America traveled more than the Quakers." Such being the case it is quite understandable how Philadelphia standards should mean quite as much or more than Boston standards in mid-18th century Nantucket. Fifteen members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting made their

way to the far-away island during the decade of the Seven Years War. They served as living epistles to reinforce one central ethic.

At General Meeting in 1749, soon after the word Sherbourne was first tentatively used as the new name of Nantucket Monthly Meeting, two such visitors came. John Sykes was a minister of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, New Jersey of whom we know little. Abraham Farrington (1692-1758) his companion is remembered for having been convinced under the ministry of James Dickinson, the English Friend: as a "Lover of Good Order in the Church": and for having died at Norwich England while there on a religious visit in 1758. A minister of Burlington Monthly Meeting, he was a friend of John Woolman's, and involved in the reformation which still lay some time in the future. Coming from New Jersey which wasthe most easy-going tax free colony in America, they reported that the hitherto pleasant anarchy was breaking out in anti-proprietary riots in the East or non-Quaker portion of the colony. Their first governor Lewis Morris, 1738-1746, had been succeeded by Jonathan Belcher formerly Governor of Massachusetts, while quarrels with the assembly continued characteristic of the whole period. New Jersey was a royal colony not virtually an independent republic as was Pennsylvania, so its problems were somewhat different, especially as New Jersey had no Indian frontier.

The love of good order which characterized Abraham Farrington resulted in the appointment of a standing committee of Nantucket Monthly Meeting to handle "returning minutes" for visiting friends. The clerk Silvanus Hussey was chosen chairman, to be assisted by the minister brothers Elihu and Nathaniel Coleman, by Benjamin Barney, David Gardner, and by Benjamin Coffin. The committee remained actice through the 1763 period.

A month after General Meeting in 1749 Nicholas Austin (1695-1770), with his mother Rose Tibbetts put in for a visit. Formerly a resident of Dover, New Hampshire, since 1721 he had resided at Abington, Pennsylvania, where he was a recorded minister. As a New Englander he was probably shocked at the post-Aix-la-Chappelle practice of the rich Philadelphia Friends of sending their sons on the grand tour of Europe before settling them in business. Though it was necessary for Quakers to take their medical degrees at Edinburgh as Anglican exclusion laws prevented study at Oxford and Cambridge. Already Philadelphia Friends had built elaborate summer homes near Shrewsbury in North Jersey, where during the hottest months, they took ocean bathing seriously. One wonders if they were so frivolous as to swim when on religious visits on Nantucket. At least we know that Nantucketers did not swim as a fashionable pastime in the 18th century.

1750, mid-18th century high mark, brought a notable selection of Philadelphia Friends. Two women Friends came first. One was Lydia Mendenhall, after 1752 wife of William Hammons of Chester Monthly Meeting. The other was Ann Schoolfield of Buckingham Monthly Meeting, wife of John Schoolfield whom she married under the care of Falls Monthly Meeting in 1724, Apparently both were ministers, though Lydia may have been companion to the older woman. Being typical country Friends they appeared without lace, ribbons, cuffs or jewels. On the other hand the traditional Quaker gray had not yet appeared. They probably wore broadbrimmed low-crowned hats with a bonnet-like tie under the neck, bright blue or red elbow-length and ankle-length dresses, with full skirts, fronted with a bright green apron and gathered at the waiste. The sleeves and the bonnet were often-faced in white. Good strong white stockings ended in silver buckled shoes. Hoop

skirts common after 1740 were carefully avoided as were "long lapp'd Sleeves or Coates gathered at the Sides, or Superfluous Buttons, or Broad Ribbons about their Hatts..." It was advisable "that no women (Friends)...Dress their Heads Immodestly, or Wear long scarfs and that all be careful aboutmaking, buying or Wearing (as much as they can) Striped or Flower'd Stuffs, or other useless and Superfluous Things..."

Lydia Mendenhall and Ann Schoolfield were followed in a month by Mary Weston and Grace Fishers. Actually Grace was the bona fide Philadelphia Friend. Mary (Pace) Weston (1712-1766), later Waring was like Samuel Fothergill only temporarily resident in Philadelphia. She kept a Journal which reflects accurately the quiet days at the end of the old colonial period. Sailing from Acushnet, present day New Bedford, with a group of Newport Friends, they were hospitably entertained by Benjamin and Lydia (Starbuck) Barney. Noting good attendance on 5th day the visitors arranged for an appointed meeting on 6th day. There were clear echoes of the 1702 occasion in the bright rubb'd room, when, Mary Weston wrote--

> I never felt more of the overflowing Love of my Heavenly Father in the Exercise of the Ministry. My companion (Grace Fishers) Prayed indeed it was a memorable time, & many tears were dropt therein, which reminded me of the Visit of our dear Friend John Richardson to this island. There are many of the same Friends in being now that were then, who hold their integrity in the Truth, as Nath'll Starbuck & Wife, Jethro Starbuck, John Coleman & Wife with their Sons Elihu & Nathan (all), the latter was gone to England on a visit to Friends.

We notice Dorcas Starbuck's name is ommitted, and in another year

Dinah Starbuck's presence would also be missed. The gracious mistress of the Tobey House preceeded her patriarch husband in death by three years. Second to her sister-in-law, Dorcas Gayer, she was the most useful woman elder produced by Nantucket Meeting in its early years. Four months before Mary Weston arrived minister Nathaniel Coleman procured his minute for travel in the ministry in Europe. That minute went to Second Month Quarterly Meeting and to New England Yearly Meeting for endorsements. Nathaniel Coleman had probably scarcely landed abroad when Mary Weston and Grace Fishers arrived on the island. He was the first friend of Nantucket after Captain Ebenezer Gardner to travel abroad in the ministry. Captain Gardner, it will be recalled died in England in 1713. It appears that Nathaniel Coleman returned for Yearly Meeting in 1755, though unfortunately we have no account of his travels.

After attending First-Day meeting where there was a full complement of 1500 persons, the visitors tarried a day to wait out a storm and then set sail in the sloop Phoenix, Captain David Gardner, master. It was a rough trip, though Mary Weston escaped seasickness, while they made Tarpaulin Cove in the Elizabeth Islands by nightfall. Fourth day saw them safe back in the Buzzards Bay area. A final brief word on Grace Fishers is appropriate. She was an elder of a Haddonfield, New Jersey, family who had moved to the city of Philadelphia three years before.

Still two more women Friends were present for General Meeting in 1751. Both were of Welsh descent. Jane (Hughes) Ellis (1683-1772) of Exeter Monthly Meeting was born in Merionethshire and migrated to Gwynedd in 1698. A cheerful woman she mingled socially and religiously with Daniel Boone's ancestors. Her companion Rebecca (Owen) Harvey of Darby Monthly Meeting was a daughter of the widely known Dr. Griffith Owen. As they were of a literary turn, they could report that

Philadelphia Friends had established the Pennsylvania Hospital as a Scientific Foundation to rival Franklin's anti-Quaker Academy which he had got under way in 1740. Textbooks on medicine were part of every private Quaker collection. In fact the Quaker ethic having turned Friends away from the beaux arts inclined then toward philosophy both abstract and natural. In one case it encouraged historical reading and the objectivity so sadly lacking in the 19th Century Society of Friends. In the other case it encouraged observation of nature, botany especially. Franklin's Junta of 1727 was filled with Quakers, and all its successors, including the American Philosophical Society were Quaker dominated. In the latter case Israel Pemberton's interest in Indian antiquities led directly to the Society coming into being in 1743. A year later when Franklin met up with electricity his most intelligent critics were Philadelphia Friends. In fact when Friends left the State House in 1756, they removed their headquarters as far as secular affairs were concerned to the Pennsylvania Hospital. Quaker scientific interest flowered on Nantucket in the period immediately following the dates of this book. No doubt Nantucket followed the Philadelphia lead in this direction. Notice should be taken of two Friends who were particularly responsible for the scholarly-scientific trend on the island.

One was schoolmaster Benjamin Coffin. In his school conducted from 1731-1777 the clerk of the Proprietary inculcated a love of Latin and subsequent literature. The other was "Dr." Zaccheus Macy, son of elder Richard Macy, who became the first surgeon on the island. Without a college education, he kept in close touch with the Pennsylvania Hospital, which allowed for as advanced medical knowledge as was available in the English speaking world.

A year after Rebecca Harvey came on, William Horn (1714-1772), also of Darby made a visit. A native of Sussexshire he had come to

America in 1723 and was recorded in the ministry in 1746. Owner of a particularly hospitable home, he was able to visit his English birthplace in 1764. As William Horn was affluent at least to the degree that he could entertain freely we may suppose his home to have been typical of suburban Philadelphia. There Friends lived in great Georgian mansions, though usually without the ornamental Palladian window. On the whole purely decorative motifs were ommitted while the door-hood and the fan light were usual. The furniture was not a whit plainer than that of the Episcopalian neighbors, however. William Savery highboys being especially cherished. One peculiar limitation was that only landscape pictures were allowed, though silhouettes were acceptable in the place of portraits. After 1763, however, oil portraits by the best masters appeared in all the great homes of Philadelphia, Newport and Nantucket, though they were avoided elsewhere in the American Society of Friends. Silver tankards, dishes and goblets were so common that John Woolman developed a testimony against such appertenances of great wealth, refusing even to use silver spoons when invited out. As for the gardens about the houses, they were the showplaces of the first suburbia in America. Israel Pemberton's place was typical of the semi-Epicurean class of which he was an elegant example. Nantucket must have indeed seemed a bleak treeless, sandy waste compared to the lush Delaware valley.

Another rather obscure Friend followed William Horn in the autumn of 1752. A Samuel Spencer of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting who must have been elderly as his marriage intentions were made in 1699. As he was a typical city Friend, his appearance must have been much as follows: grey wig topped by a tri-cornered hat, hair tied with a string or ribbon on the back, grey or brown coat without cuffs or collar. Plain

white kercheif without lace, worsted britches tucked into tough woolen stockings which came above the knees and which fitted in turn into broad-toed, silver buckled shoes. Men Friends were as today less colorful than their female companions.

Two years after Samuel Spencer, came the vitally important visit of Israel Pemberton, David Stanton and Thomas Lightfoot already noticed in connection with the commons case. This was the year 1754 when Benjamin Franklin called his Albany convention, and his cousin Quaker Abishai Folger, representative to the General Court in Boston abstained from voting when the question was put whether or not Massachusetts should participate in Franklin's plan. Perhaps a pacifist scruple motivated his abstaining. Events were fast moving toward the open break with France the next year. Samuel Fothergill, John Pemberton and William Logan reached the island that crucial year as did 33 visitors of the first hostile move in the coming war. Nantucket had accepted its quota of displaced French Catholic Acadians in Ninth Month 1755, though they very probably moved on almost to a man in a year or two. The meeting as such took no cognizance of the unhappy people though their destitute condition must have caused individual Quakers to feed, house and clothe them, according to scripture injunction. Longfellow's Evangeline is supposed to have found her finance finally in the Quaker almshouse in Philadelphia.

The only record we have of a Friend applying himself specifically to rousing lip public opinion in the colonies for the necessity of making peace with France was a certain Joshua Dixon of Durham England (1702-1782), a "pewerful minister", who was accompanied on Nantucket in the autumn of 1755 by Thomas Goodwin, Jr., of Goshen Monthly Meeting, Chester County, of whom we know little except he was married in 1729, and probably died in 1759.

That same month both the London Epistle for 1754 and the Select Philadelphia Epistle for 1755 were read in monthly meeting and the latter and the following monthly meeting. Both documents gave helpful advice as the war had come upon them. Once again there were raised serious questions regarding privateering war taxes and conscription. The years of peace from 1748 till 1754 must have seemed illusory, unrealistic in the light of subsequent events. The great "diplomatic switch" which took place in those years when France abandoned Prussia and received Austria, while England lost Austria and was willing to accept Prussia, must have appeared to the Society of Friends an exceedingly hypocritical counsel of expediency. If anything pacifist principles were more deeply appreciated, and more carefully observed. The fact the tightening of the discipline coincided with the war likewise helped produce consistency. Nantucket seems to have been particularly responsive as Captain Jethro Folger, Captain David Gardner and minister Richard Mitchell reported in the early winter of 1755-56 that the monthly meeting held at Sherbourne produced the clearest query answers of any monthly meeting in Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting.

General meeting in 1756 produced minutes for three more valued Friends. One in particular was acquainted with the nature of warfare. He was Thomas Gawthrop (1709-1750) born a Friend, but indicted in the army when very young to escape a very unhappy apprenticeship. The British Army, with surprising realism, demobilized said Thomas as they were fearful he would revert to pacifism when he faced the actual battlefield experience. A member of Kendall Monthly Meeting, Westmorelandshire, he made four visits all told to America, where he was actively concerned for the welfare of the negro people. On one occasion he developed an unrealistic land speculation scheme, which he tried

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unsuccessfully to sell to Israel Pemberton. Otherwise he seems to have been a steady useful Friend. His companions were: Jane (Fenn) Haskins whose experience in the ministry had carried her to Nantucket in her unmarried years as well as subsequently; and Susannah Brown, wife of William who moved to Philadelphia from Nottingham in search of this world's riches, at least that was what the world said.

Nantucket had passed through an expensive two years of losses. Three sloops had gone down during the calendar year of 1755, three more followed in 1756, while during the latter year Nantucket suffered additionally the loss of six sloops captured by the French. Perhaps the losses seem small compared to the 80 sail operating out of the port. But the ships each averaged 75 tons, and represented generally an investment of $20,000.00 per sloop. Square rigging became general during the hectic years of the Seven Years War. Once again a major change in seafaring war carried through to speed the wings of flight, when speed was the chief weapon the Quaker captain was free to utilize. The twelve ships lost in 1755-56 also represented personnel runing over 150 men, half of whom might possibly be expected to return. Perhaps 500 of the islanders were dependent on those who were temporarily or permanently cut off. Here was an economic problem of much broader and far reacing implications than the capital outlay necessary for launching a dozen lost whaling sloops.

In 1755 the Bunkers, Colemans, Starbucks and Coffins were hit the hardest. Captain David Bunker, aged 39, cousin of the disowned Samuel Bunker was lost with Samuel's younger brother Peter Bunker aged 30. Both left widows and children. Brothers next went down, Jethro Coleman, Jr., aged 21 and Paul Coleman, unmarried, aged 19, sons of Jethro and Lydia (Macy) Coleman. It is probable they perished

off the sloop commanded by Captain Nathaniel Starbuck, aged 33, bachelor son of minister William. John Starbuck, aged 30, son of caretaker Paul Starbuck was probably another one of the crew. To John attaches the questionable distinction of being the first Starbuck who married out of meeting. As for the Coffins lost at sea in 1755, both were Vineyarders though members of Nantucket Meeting. Jonathan and John Coffin were brothers, grandsons of the original John Coffin of Edgartown. Both left widows and were aged 30 and 28 respectively when fate cut short their lives.

Tragic as the loss of eight men was in 1755, the wrench to the community was small indeed compared to what lay ahead in 1756. Captain Joseph Jenkins, aged 34 went down. On his sloop were three of the numerous Coffin family: Chrisopher, aged 35, son of Captain Richard; his nephew William, aged 26, and his brother Peleg Coffin, aged 18, son-in-law of George Hussey, a Vineyarder. All were heads of families. Captain Seth Hussey, aged 39, son of Silvanus was captured by the French, and died subsequently probably as a result of harsh treatment. With him on his ill-fated craft was his young 18 year old cousin Thomas Hussey, uncle George's son, who was killed by a whale before the sloop was taken. Another whaling vessel captured was that captained by Nathaniel Coleman son of Barnabas and nephew of the minister. He subsequently reached home while two members of his crew perished; Silvanus Macy, aged 21, son of Elder Richard; and Benjamin Macy, aged 20, son of Robert and grandson of Treasurer Thomas. Still another sloop captured was that handled by Reuben Pinkham, son of Theophilus, and grandson of Ann Paddock. Aged 27, he perished in prison in France of smallpox. From his craft also was lost Matthew Jenkins, aged 23, son of Peter, and a boy Paul Chase, aged 15, son of Joseph and grandson of miller

Samuel Coffin. Captain William Barnard son of Ebenezer was likewise taken, but subsequently escaped. Two of his crew perished however. First was Joseph Gardner, aged 31, son in law of minister Lydia Worth, and Benjamin Coleman, aged 21, heir of minister Nathaniel. One other loss to the meeting was 19 year old Barnabas Coleman, son of Jethro lost when a non-Quaker owned sloop went down. Of those dead because of untoward connections with the enemies, all were married and heads of homes except six. At least a dozen families all told last permanently the man who was head of the house. Such desperate straits helped encourage the formation of the first New England Insurance Company, founded in 1756 by Stephen Hopkins in Providence. Hopkins we recall was eventually a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and as well Governor of Rhode Island and a member of the Society of Friends. Incidentally at least one of the Nantucket whaling sloops taken by the French were ransomed. As late as 1760 still another Nantucket whaler was taken from the crew by the French and converted to warlike purposes, while several vessels were being held for ransom when the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763. Altogether the French took 80 English vessels and removed oil from 71 whalers at a loss of $1,550,000.00, the bulk of which loss was born by Nantucket. Perhaps 20 Nantucket whalers were lost and possibly a dozen more ransomed. Sloops sold at auction in 1750 brought a price of $125,000.00. It is not outside the bounds of reason to list the financial loss in equipment at about four million dollars, or combined with oil losses actual (not estimating any potential) at five and a half million dollars. Of course some of this figure may have been covered by insurance.

Naturally the systematic recital of loss by capture or drowning of Nantucketers caught in the mesh of the Seven Years War, does little more than to skim the surface of the enormously shattering psychological and economic consequences of the times. We must turn however to observe

more closely the effect of the war on the Quaker meeting itself. We have already noticed that one direct result of the captures by the French was the issuance of certificates of bona fide Quaker membership to individual whalers, the first three issued to schoolteacher Coffin's sons William, Benjamin, Jr., and Micajah. And we have also observed that formal membership as such came into being when it became necessary to decide who were actual members of the Society. The Friends meeting had consequently withdrawn upon itself in formulating a pattern which led away from catholicity toward exclusiveness.

Similarly as during the War of the Austrian Succession the danger of conscription for the militia reared its angry head. This time the General Court acted, levying a special Soldier's tax upon all who claimed execption from military service. Most Friends must have paid the tax as the warlike George Gardner recorded in his Journal that $9,415.85 was collected on Nantucket, actually four times the figure taken on the Vineyard. Not all the Nantucket Quakers were prepared however to hire substitued as was evidenced by the list of tax distraints submitted at the request of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting in the spring of 1762. Among those who were stalwart in their refusal to act inconsistently with the peace testimony were Captain Jethro Folger (lost $39.80), schoolteacher Joseph Marshall ($10.00), Minister William Starbuck (loss equalled tax), Minister Nathaniel Coleman (same), Carpenter John Macy, Jr., (same), book agent Barnabas Coleman ($3.20), Silvanus Worth ($9.20), William Hussey ($4.00), William Russell ($4.00), Jonathan Gardner ($34.80) and Nathaniel Gardner ($18.80). The total distraint above the levy of the tax came to $141.40. Three taxes were levied in the winter of 1757-58, Jethro Folger and Silvanus Worth having suffered double siezures. The collectors were three in number Thomas Arthur, Uriah Gardner and Daniel Allen by name.

Ironically Uriah Gardner was nominally a member of the meeting, son of Captain Ebenezer Gardner, the first man married under the care of Friends on the island. Yet no action was taken against the said Uriah. Perhaps his marriage out of meeting in 1738 was regarded as symbolizing his break from the care of Friends. Mostly the collectors took silver, spoons, and cups. Pewter seems also to have been popular, while tables, chairs, and even andirons were begged off on occasion. It was not easy to so visit kinfolks and neighbors, especially when the Quaker way of life was so commonly known and accepted. Perhaps that accounts for the small number of Friends who suffered, and as well for the few goods taken. In direct contrast was the marked suffering of the friends of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting, who were probably more upright in their refusal to pay the soldiers tax than were the Friends of Nantucket. They had taken from them goods valued at $3,617.10. In Eighth Month, 1758, Nantucket Meeting was moved by the Dartmouth sufferings to the extent of sending $48.00 toward their relief. Joseph Tucker was receiver of such contributions. Relief was granted in the spring of 1758 upon the memorial of Nantucket County forwarded by Quaker Abishai Folger, Sr. Nantucket representative to the General Court. The exemption as written into the Massachusetts law required the listing of bona fide Quaker homes in each township. The law was reported back from the spring Quarterly Meeting. In 1760 the puritan city of Boston from which stemmed the policy of tax distraints suffered severe loss by fire. Dartmouth Friends seized the opportunity not as evidence of God's vengeance upon their persecutors, but as an opportunity to pour coals upon the heads of their oppressors by raising $948.00 for their relief.

But to return to the years of war taxation, we find as a barometer of the cloudiness of Friends thinking in 1757 regarding the exemption law, that, even as Darmouth meeting began to file the very terrible

losses which she endured, the spring Quarterly Meeting was too divided to accept a query produced from neutral Rhode Island Monthly Meeting inquiring as to whether or not Friends had voted for the raising of militia, had gone to train in the militia, or were paying general war taxes, and specifically exemption taxes. On Nantucket at least three of those who suffered distraints had differentiated in their minds between the seriousness of the exemption tax and the general war tax, offering in each case to pay the latter when the collector arrived. In each instance the collector ignored the offer. The three were Captain Jethro Folger, Silvanus Worth and Jonathan Gardner.

As the decade concluded, the French and Indian War seemed to be going advantageously as far as the British forces in America were concerned. It was therefor easy for the General Court to acceed to the Quaker appeal for exemptions. At any rate they had hit upon the notion of a lottery to finance the final expedition to Quebec which was to smash once and for all the French-American Empire. There was no need for taxation so resented by all classes of colonials, and so awkward to administer where a fair proportion of the population refused to pay the tax at all.

No Philadelphia Friends came to advise Nantucketers in the very controversial years from 1756 to 1758. They themselves were frightfully busy making peace with the Indians under the leadership of Israel Pemberton, through the instrumentality of the Friendly Association.

Nantucket, had, however, benefitted from the counsel of many earlier visitors, and thus rode out the war in fine form. But there was no returning to the old patterns. The great Commons Case, the new Book of Discipline, and the staggering losses of the Seven Years War all pointed the way toward a new stringent orthodoxy, an orthodoxy which

was clearly formulated five years later when the Peace of Paris was signed.

CHAPTER 14

" A social, friendly, and commendable way ..."
1748-1758

The founder of Westtown Boarding School, the oldest and best known Quaker secondary educational institution in America, one George Churchman, reached Nantucket in 1781 after the Revolutionary War had nearly finished its course; and a generation after our study reaches its conclusion. Nonetheless some of Churchman's observations are so clearly relevant as regards the earlier period that they serve as a useful introduction to a scrutiny of domestic affairs on Nantucket during the era of the Seven Years War.

Speaking of the economy of the island Churchman says:

> Their interest, farm and pasture lands, seem to lie in a kind of joint commonwealth, under certain regulations, and not much law business practiced among them; it is said that few differences about their property happen, and where any such are manifest, they are most commonly settled by arbitration.
>
> We understand their method is, respecting their stock of live creatures, farms, pasturage, etc. to have bookkeepers or clerks appointed among themselves to keep a fair statement of each persons share with whom they settle annually concerning these matters: a social, friendly and commendable way of living surely this is, or would be, if pure religion was predominant, as a standard over the whole.
>
> ... I with some others rode toward the eastern part of the Island, and came through a herd of about 340 cows which were herded by a man and boy. These belong to the people of the town and were brought home in the evening for their milk.
>
> They tell us of one man now alive on this Island, who once went with others first to London in a vessell with a cargo of whale oil; from thence to Greenland and back to London with another cargo (possibly 1745) (being successful in the business); then fitted out for the South Seas, where success again attended, insomuch that in the whole they caught as many whales as made up hundreds of barrells of oil before they came home, and within the course of one year they ranged the seas into North Latitude as far as 90 degrees and to 52 degrees in South Latitude.
>
> (When the island was settled) A large number of Indians were here ... who dwelt in low Wigwams of bushes and small stuff pleatted round the side. Their business was hunting and fishing there being plenty of winter wild fowl and deer. The bow and arrow was in use among them, but it is said there is no account of their using boats at that time.

George Churchman saw fit to describe the Proprietary, the scope of whaling ventures, and the friendly Indian community. Each of these areas of island life

received intense dislocation during the years from 1748 to 1758. Already we have noticed the great Commons Case and the devastating losses at sea. In a later chapter we will observe the growing Indian crises. At this point we do well to examine community life in the epoch of the Seven Years War. A decided increase in lawlessness seems to have been experienced. The first instance involved a Friend. It seems that Odar Stratton, n'er do well son of Caleb and Lois, was brought into court in 1749 for "immodestly" abusing Mary Johnson, non-Quaker daughter of Theodote (Hussey) Johnson. Mary (Gardner) Barnard, head of the women's meeting reported the case, and procured a whipping of five lashes for said Odar Stratton, and the appointment of a committee to oversee his future good conduct. The committee consisted of Capt. Richard Gardner, Elder David Gardner, his father Caleb Stratton and Capt. Matthew Jenkins. As said Mary Johnson had sworn she was afraid for her life, the five men each put up a bond of $1,200.00 for the good conduct of their charge. Mary Johnson eventually married in Virginia, while Odar married a Salem girl out of meeting. Evidently no further unbecoming behavior occurred between them.

At the same session of the court John Way Jr. step-son of Abigail (Starbuck) Howes-Way was sued for non-support of a bastard child, the first instance of acknowledged illegitimacy in the community. A year later the Grand Jury arraigned Jane (Smith) Swaim, a non-Quaker widow for bearing an illegitimate child. She later married a Samuel Maxey from England. And in 1750 a single girl Mary Folger probably daughter of Zaccheus, a non-Quaker, was also held for a similar misdemeanor. Apparently the court did little more than make a public spectacle of them. Five years later the same Mary Folger levied a charge against a non-Quaker Ellis as quilty of cohabiting with her, though no sentence was passed.

In 1753 another informer appeared to testify that non-Quaker Christopher Swaim had beaten up his father. The complainant was the plaintiff's sister. In this case the culprit received ten lashes. A year later another non-Quaker Swaim

lost his case against a certain John Harris whom he accused of spitefully shooting his mare - lost the case for lack of evidence.

As far as the Indians were concerned, they still suffered a marked legal discrimination in the courts. A non-Quaker Joseph Swain, for instance in 1755 was granted the services of his Indian apprentice for five years, as the Indian had burned his master's desk in a fit of pique. Whaling-promoter Zephaniah Coffin got a similar sentence passed on an Indian who had stolen one of his whaleboats. In 1757 two Indians were each given ten lashes and were assigned to John Bunker and Zaccheus Macey respectively for four year terms, for killing 27 sheep. Why such a slaughter of sheep is unknown unless they went on a drunken orgy. And one Indian was hanged, he Henry Jude, in 1750 for an unspecified crime. In that year all Indian lands were assigned under complete control of Indian agents. Abishai Folger was so named on Nantucket.

There was a marked increase in liquor licenses granted during these years. In 1753 James Gardner and John Beard each got permission to dispense liquor out of doors. A year later Obed Hussey and Zachary Bunker a non-Friend procured licensees. That season the list of grog shops, which also incidentally included tea and coffee dispensaries, included the following owners: Capt. Silvenus Hussey, John Coffin (husband of the smuggler), Joseph Ratch, Ruth Coffin (Capt, Richard's wife), and as well the two above mentioned licensees. In 1755 out of door liquor licenses were granted to three Friends: Rep. Abishai Folger, Nathaniel Macy and William Hussey. A few months later a fourth Friend, Peleg Gardner, was allowed to sell alcohol at his blacksmith shop. And in 1758 the newcomer Joseph Nichols received a liquor license.

After 1755 all importers of oriental goods were required to procure licenses. Consequently tea and coffee permissions were granted separately from liquor permissions as of that year. Among the original petitions are found the names of John Coffin, Ruth Coffin, minister Richard Mitchell and overseer William Ratch.

Joseph Rotch bought a chinaware shop license as did the one-time tailor, now merchant Benjamin Barney. Trade with the orient had been well settled on Nantucket before the opening of the Seven Year's War. Other oriental goods permissions were granted to Abishai Folger and Christopher Hussey in 1756, when Nantucket boasted nine import houses. In 1758 three additional licenses were granted; to Christopher Starbuck, to Elizabeth Coffin (Samuel the younger's wife) and to Joseph Nichols. Quite obviously the cultivated middle years of the 18th century had arrived. That Joseph Rotch continued actively in his West Indies liquor and sugar business is evidenced by a directive to Edward Starbuck, then sailing one of the Rotch ships, to pick up a promisary note at Bear Inlet, N. C., taking precautions lest the paper fall eventually into French hands.

To protect the growing wealth of the community a new jail was built in 1748, the old one being sold to William Swain. The night watch was systematically kept. And a committee was named and equipped with $900.00 to procure a fire engine something on the order of apparatus in Boston; at least something more effective than the leather bucket brigade then frequently in use. This was in 1750 when Clerk Silvanus Hussey was named chairman with Rep. Abishai Folger and Capt. Richard Coffin to assist. To man the engine and keep the fire house in order, the following committee comes into being in 1752; Richard Mitchell, Zaccheus Macy, Paul Bunker, William Coffin, John Coleman Jr. and Hezekiah Coffin - all Friends. Then in 1753 it was agreed that the town should include Brant Point and its new lighthouse within the Proprietors fence - which fence kept town gardens free of wandering herds of cattle and sheep. Again the welfare of the town was safeguarded. In 1754 the growing pains of the maturing community were evidenced in the decision to separate all Proprietary court cases and records from the Nantucket County Court record books. The separation of Proprietary business from town meeting had been effected as early as 1716. The Proprietary was fast becoming an anacronism in the overall New England scene, and on Nantucket the institution was growing unconsciously

toward becoming the agency of a special land court, much later authorized by the Massachusetts government.

As typical of Quaker controlled governments, economy-minded Nantucket voted "no" in the provincial referendum on the levying of an excise tax on liquor in 1754. Two years later the town dispatched a non-Quaker Coffin to Boston to plead for the setting aside of the "Great & Heavy Tax", which was the occasion for the distraints referred to in an earlier chapter.

As for the whaling business there was steady prosperity, at least till the French losses occurred. In 1751 Baffin Bay west of Greenland had been entered. Four years later Nantucket whalers reached the "Western Islands" in the Pacific Ocean, initiating the tradition alive on the island today that Nantucket was more directly concerned with Pacific than with Atlantic ocean wealth. In 1753 whale oil was selling at the high figure of $1,050.00 per barrell. And the docks in the harbor were piled high with full barrells. Probably the docks of the port could accomodate the 300 vessels, which Crevecoeur reported as possible a decade later. Nantucket outposts in Newport and Nova Scotia were flourishing, as was evidenced in 1753 when John Beard sued a Vineyarder for entering his headquarters in the latter place. In Newport Nantucketers traded chiefly with the Jewish Lopez brothers, after 1754 at any rate. The Lopez partnership was the wealthiest New England shipping firm in the mid-18th century, boasting a capital ship for each letter of the alphabet./ Newport claimed 500 sails in 1750. One direct Nantucket influence in Newport was Benjamin Cobb's sperm candle factory, set up on the Nantucket model and supplied by Starbuck-Macy export materials, also established in 1750.

During the 1748-1758 decade there appeared the first Navigation books prepared by Nantucketers, usually beautifully decorated and engraved by hand. Frequently they included charts of shoals in the more frequented harbors. Often sails and pennants are catalogued. Even legal forms for executing mercantile transactions are included. The finest extant of these books was penned by George Gardner, contester of the Starbuck land title in 1738. Frequently these navigation books serve

as the earliest extant log books of whaling expeditions. Navigation had in truth come of age in 1755 as the British developed in that year a regular packet ship service between the mother country and the colonies, to convey quickly to all ports whatever information was helpful for a realm engaging in warfare.

Four whaling voyages each year out of Sherburne port was usual after Aix-la-Chappelle, a discipline which was in itself difficult. The dangerous livlihood evoked the following quizzical observation on the part of one whaler in 1753 - "What a Strange uneven Sort of Life a man lives" - hardly the typical expression of most mid-18th century Englishmen. Possibly the vigor of Nantucket as contrasted with the placid life in most of Georgian England and its colonies, lay in the rigors of its way of livlihood. However after the whalers put out, they were always glad as the same whaler noted in his log-book, that they "made our Dear Island of Nantucket". As each whaler rounded Brant Point he was met with the regular skyline of drab pastel gray roofs, mostly with lean-tos facing north, broken on the horizon only by the great revolving arms of the four windmills. There were no church towers to punctuate the skyline. Even the town house which was rebuilt in 1757, had no "lanthorn". Not all were fortunate in making the port, but occasionally went aground on the shoals off Coatue or off Tuckernuck, as was the case of a Capt. Paddock of Boston in 1756, whose vessel enroute from North Carolina broke up at the latter place. He was probably put up for awhile with his Nantucket cousins. Despite such dangers as this and others attached to hurricane and whale-boat pursuits, the lure of adventure drew the men off-shore a thousand-thousand times.

All the while on the island the Society of Friends carried forward the chief responsibility for community cooperation in the town. That responsibility embraced other Quaker communities as well, as was evidenced in 1748, when an unspecified sum was dispatched to assist the Friends of South Kingston, Rhode Island, when they were in the process of constructing a new monthly meeting house there. Five years later $750.00 was added to the original contribution. In 1749, the year of the

great New England drought, $250.00 was sent to help the Friends of Smithfield Monthly Meeting build their new central meetinghouse north of Providence. This was the year incidentally in which the now standing King's Chapel was erected in Boston. The next meetinghouse to claim attention was that at Warwick, R. I. under the care of Greenwich M.M. This structure was repaired in 1755, and to the appeal sent out, Nantucket responded with $500.00. A fourth meetinghouse contribution was made in 1754 when another $500.00 was posted to encourage Friends of Richmond, R. I. within the area of South Kingston M.M. to build a meetinghouse. And in 1755, $60.00 (new tenor) was dispatched to Dartmouth to help that monthly meeting build a meetinghouse at Newtown, now called Longplain. A second Longplain contribution followed a year later. In the area of personal philanthropy Nantucket Monthly Meeting dispatched $500.00 in 1749 to Benjamin Bagnall, merchant Friend of Boston, who had been appointed collector of funds by Salem Quarterly Meeting for Philip and Mary Rowell of Salisbury, N. H. in Amesbury M.M., who had lost their house and its furnishings by fire. Mary Rowell appeared on Nantucket in 1760, no doubt incidentally extending her personal thanks for the aid given. In 1753 two Nantucketers in needy circumstances received aid. One was Miriam (Stratton) Perry who appeared to run true to her family's impecunious tradition in accepting $250.00 early in the year from the women's meeting. Following sometime later Treasurer Benjamin Barney gave John Gwinn $500.00 "for his relief". Then in 1754, $750.00 was sent off island to the Friends of Pembroke M.M. for the aid of one Alice Howard. The size of the grant suggests her household may have met with disaster by fire or otherwise. A second contribution went to Pembroke in 1757, when $48.00 in new tenor money was earmarked for Matthew Estes, probably son of the Richard Estes who had emigrated from Nantucket in 1725. Patience Estes, either a daughter of Richard, or wife of Matthew, arrived on Nantucket a few months later bearing a minute from Pembroke M.M., which the women's meeting heard read. She may well have come to convey thanks for the gift as well as to

minister. Not exactly to be classed as philanthropy, there followed additional grants of money, which were, however, greatly appreciated. Treasurer Benjamin Barney was donated $1,250.00 in token of his nine years of unstinted financial service. The women's meeting, likewise in a generous mood, gave Mary Gardner $350.00 to signify gratitude for her having swept the meetinghouse for fourteen years, at a cost to Friends of only $80.00 per year.

In the autumn of 1749 Capt. Silvanus Hussey carried $400.00 to Newport as part of the regretably not stated Quarterly Meeting Assessment. What this came to in Rhode Island currency is unknown. The Independent Advertiser, founded in Boston in 1748, reported such inflation in Rhode Island in that year, as to move the General Court of Massachusetts to forbid all importation of Rhode Island money. Only Rhode Island of the New England colonies seems to have been a victim of a cheap money policy at this time. In 1755 $100.00 in the depreciated Rhode Island currency was issued to David Gardner to reimburse him for the small collection of Quaker books which he had currently picked up at Quarterly Meeting. No other record of general Quarterly Meeting financial transactions have survived, though money must have been transmitted for the 40 additional Barclay's Apology ordered in the spring of 1751. Neither is any figure given when Silvanus Hussey as clerk was empowered in 1749 to write to England for two copies of the publication "relating to Friends Suffering", which book was a forerunner to Besse's Sufferings published in 1753. In 1754 minister Richard Mitchell reported he had received a consignment of new Friends books from England, which were directed to be added to the meeting library, and loaned to the members as the demand required.

As for domestic expense we have somewhat fuller figures. The meeting in 1750 authorized Benjamin Barney to build a "Privy House", four feet square, which cost $872.00 when it stood completed two months later. On the face of it, the price seems fantastically high, but may be accounted for either by a subsequent decision to build two "little houses", or by inflated prices. Two Swansea Friends, Isaac Chase and James Luther who had come on for General Meeting, may have encouraged the

construction. Three years later $654.00 was spent on meetinghouse repairs which were handled by Paul Starbuck's sons, Samuel and Edward. Paul, himself, retired from the caretakership of the meeting property which he had handled for 32 years. The death of his father, the great Nathaniel, had increased Paul's responsibilities many times over. Samuel and Edward Starbuck received $179.20 for further repairs in 1756, while a general overhaul job was handled that autumn by Jethro Coleman at a cost of $352.40 to the meeting. The Starbuck brothers again received $180.00 in the spring of 1758. Notwithstanding, the joint caretakership had proved itself unsatisfactory, and consequently David Jay was appointed caretaker, while a request was made of him that he make a thorough survey of the roof, and repair it as should be found necessary. David Jay was the second great meeting caretaker on Nantucket.

During the 1748-1758 decade Nantucket Friends took a closer interest in the affairs of British Friends than previously. The purchase of books relating to sufferings was encouraged by a special letter received from the Meeting for Sufferings in 1748. Elihu Coleman brought back from Yearly Meeting in Newport in 1750, the London Epistle of 1749. The 1751 Epistle arrived late in the autumn of that year, and the 1753 Epistle a few month later that fall. It was reread during the disownment excitement in the spring of 1754, probably because its good advice kept tempers in check. The winter of 1755 the Epistle for that year received attention. That for 1756 was presented more than a year later. Most of these documents are extant, still the property of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Nantucket was well informed of the basic doctrines and the current advices in the wider Society of Friends. In the spring of 1751 for instance, an epistle was received from John Sykes, a Friend of Chesterfield, New Jersey, who had been on the island in 1749 as noticed in an earlier chapter. Two English visitors in that year underscored the value of strong disciplinary control. They were Jonah Thompson (1702-1780) and James Thornton (1727-1794). Thompson was a weaver and schoolteacher of Sherburne M.M., County Cumberland. This representative of the monthly meeting at

Sherburne in Old England was "a man of extensive abilities." He was outshone however, by Thornton who eventually settled at Bybery near Philadelphia after his 1750 travels. His origins were Staffordshire and Dorsetshire. Before settling down permanently, he opened a shop at Bristol, Pennsylvania, where he married under the care of Falls M.M. Very active in the work of discipline, he founded Abington Quarterly Meeting in 1786, and promoted actively Negro membership in the Society of Friends. A widely traveled minister, James Thornton always sat in meeting with his hat pulled low over his eyes before speaking. The committee on returning minutes acted for Thompson and Thornton, and for six others who presented credentials at that time. Among these were Joseph Easton and Jonathan Wood, companions from Dartmouth. There was need for disciplinary help on Nantucket, for not only was the reform movement overdue, but procedures were fuzzy in the minds of many. Indicative of this was the appointment in 1749 of a large committee to inquire into the good order or wisdom of issuing minister Sarah (Hoag) Worth a minute of transfer to her home meeting of Hampton. Elihu Coleman, Benjamin Barney, David Gardner and Benjamin Coffin were asked to make the study. Then in 1750 the women's meeting chose a very impressive committee to have oversight of conduct in their meeting. The personnel included Anne Paddock, chairman, Mehitabel Pollard, Jemima Coleman and treasurer Hephzibah Hussey.

Reporters to Quarterly Meeting for the decade included Benjamin Barney, Benjamin Coffin, Elihu Coleman, David Gardner, Joseph Marshall, Jr., Jethro Folger, Barnabas Coleman, Joseph Worth, Mehitabel Pollard and Sarah (Starbuck) Barney. The first attender, Elihu Coleman, in 1750, reported that anti-slavery sentiment had so crystalized in Newport, that one Friend of that place was under dealing for importing slaves. A year later on Nantucket, William Swain manumitted a Negro slave. And in 1755 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting made slaveholding a dishonorable offense. The leaven was surely at work. A certain Richard Smith of

Dartmouth M. M. even went so far as to publish a testimony against slavery in 1757. Rhode Island was slow, possibly in part because that colony had become an aristocratic timocracy. Only persons owning $15,000.00 worth of land could vote. Only 96 such persons registered in 1746, a goodly proportion of whom were Quaker grandees. One such aristocratic Friend, Stephen Hopkins, had outfitted a privateer in 1748 despite his Quakerism. In 1755 Hopkins became governor of the provinces which position he held till after the 1763 period. Already known as an insurance promoter, he became famous for his ideas that the colonies should unite as one nation, in his editorials published in the Providence Gazette. Such worldly Quakers delayed humanitarian sentiment.

The visitors from worldly Newport to Nantucket in 1750 included Jacob Barney and his Nantucket bred and wed wife, Dorcas (Barnard) Barney and Edward Wanton, scion of the shipbuilding family and his wife. Wanton was correspondent in merchandize for the Pemberton brothers of Philadelphia. Old Adam Mott of Dartmouth came along with them, as did William Anthony, a frequent visitor, and also merchant of Newport. They visited a young Rhode Island Friend John Massey, temporarily laid low by illness in Sherburne, from which port he shipped as a whaler. They had the opportunity to witness the departure of the Rev. Timothy White, whose 25 years pastorate in the Nantucket Congregational Church was then completed. He had baptized about 150 persons, which allowing for infant mortality, and the subsequent normal losses from membership, allowed for a congregation of 15 families in 1750. For a dozen years thereafter the church got along under the guidance of Deacons Josiah Coffin and George Gardner, with only occasional help from visiting clergymen. Very probably by this time the church pews were sold to the highest bidders, replacing the earlier colonial method of seating members according to social standing in the community. Timothy White's departure ended the opening phase of the development of organized puritanism on Nantucket. That the church survived the next few years is excellent witness to his devoted labors.

No doubt upon his return to Boston, White learned with approval that the theatre had been banned, though he may have been disturbed by the prevalence of powdered wigs, and elegant tea parties. And in 1751, a year after his return, Massachusetts engaged in its first open provincial wide lottery to mend the currency.

Quarterly Meeting visitors to Nantucket in the 1751-1753 period include Joshua Shearman, Hannah and Pearce Russell, Benjamin Buffington, Stephen Chase, Theophilus Shove, Isabel Buffington, and John Casey. The first three had "come on" for the 15th wedding observed that winter in the Nantucket meetinghouse. They were from Dartmouth. The next three were Swansea Friends, and the last from Newport, he being the Clerk of New England Yearly Meeting. In 1752 Capt. David Gardner sailed his good ship Phoenix to Quarterly Meeting, accompanied by Elihu Coleman.

As the pivotal year of 1754 arrived, Nantucket was host to two prominent British Friends. Mary Peisley (later Neale) of Mountmellick M.M. Queens County, Ireland (1717-1795) was in company with Catharine (Peyton) Phillips (@ 1720-1795) of Bewdley M.M., Worcester-shire, in England. They spoke in both men's and women's meetings, having just returned from an epochal journey through all the colonies as far south as Charleston, S. C. and the West Indies. The Charleston which they visited and fulminated against in a subsequent pamphlet, was the greatest and most sophisticated southern port in British America, having exported $56,477,981.60 worth of goods in 1748, though half the colonial trade was then operative north of Maryland. Mary Peisley and Catharine Phillips left their impress upon Nantucket in the decision to hold, during the summer months each year, after 1754, two rather than one First-day meeting for worship. Crowding in the meetinghouse was partly responsible for the decision to meet at 10:00 A.M. and 3:00 P.M., rather than at 11:00 A.M. Fifth-day meetings were changed from 11:00 A.M. till noon at this time. Seventh through Tenth months was the usual scheduled period for the summer meetings. David Gardner, just returned from Quarterly Meeting, then reported that the Select Quarterly Meeting has decided to gather on First Day at 3:00 preceeding Quarterly Meeting, not following the general sessions as previously had been the

case. The change underscored the gradual transformation which was in process, as the specialized groups in the Society of Friends gravitated into positions of increased control. From one viewpoint the Society did need to develop coordinated discipline. In a year Gen. Braddock would be killed and 4,500 Massachusetts men enrolled in a militia which drew, incidentally, only 400 Rhode Islanders. And the impact of the Great Awakening religiously was receiving its greatest impact from the publication of Jonathan Edwards' Sinners in the hands of an angry God in 1754.

Regular attendance at Quarterly Meeting in 1756 became the rule when David Gardner, Elihu Coleman, Benjamin Barney, Hephzibah Hussey, Nathaniel Coleman and Richard Mitchell were among those present. And Elihu Coleman was the first Nantucketer to serve that year as a regular appointee from the Select Quarterly to the Select Yearly Meeting. Meanwhile Nantucket entertained Mary Chase, wife of Joseph of Swansea M.M., William Russell, kin of the founder of New Bedford from Dartmouth M.M., Peter Davis of Westerly, who achieved the century mark (1712-1812), and his companion James Scrivener also of that place. Then in 1757 Richard Mitchell, Silvanus Hussey and David Gardner attended the spring Quarterly Meeting, at which time Mitchell got his minute for travel endorsed in the ministry westward, presumably to Philadelphia. The original document was drawn by Gardner and Barney. Soon thereafter extracts of the minutes of New England Yearly Meeting, chiefly advices regarding war, were received, and read on Nantucket. This was the time when war tax distraints had taken precedence over the great Commons case. A little later a special epistle counselling pacifist consistancy sent out by the London Meeting for Sufferings received the sympathetic attention of the meeting. Richard Mitchell was back from Philadelphia in time to attend Yearly Meeting in 1757 with the ubiquitous David Gardner. Then another minute was granted for travel in 1757 this time to Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard, wife of Matthew and daughter of Rose (Austin) Tibbetts, a matron who had been recorded in the ministry during the decade. She "having a

Mind to Attend Salem Meeting" was endorsed by both mens and womens meetings. Very probably she intended visiting all the constituent parts of Salem Quarterly Meeting including her native Dover, N. H. The northern New England which she visited was rapidly becoming "Presbyterionized", as 36 churches were reported operating there in 1755. And Friends in those parts as others were observing with interest the Proprietary quarrel over the settling and ownership of land in Concord N. H., a dispute which raged from 1749 to 1764, and involved two distinct interventions on the part of the Crown. In one sense the disagreement was parallel to the Nantucket Proprietary case, which went up to the London Meeting for Sufferings, the highest sovereignty in the Quaker organization. And a short while after Mary Barnard departed, Capt. David Gardner and Capt. Silvanus Hussey went to Newport to Quarterly Meeting, while no excuse appears to have been presented for Richard Macy who was appointed to go, but failed to attend.

In the spring of 1758 Quarterly Meeting reported "Sundry friends" of Nantucket in attendance including David Gardner and Richard Mitchell, where they made inquiry as to the as yet unsettled disposition of the Commons Case. They may well have brought back copies of the Newport Mercury first issued that year by Franklin's son James in the New England Quaker capital. At any rate they did bring back a clairvoyant English Friend, who served adequately as the chief visitor for the 50th anniversary of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. This man was Samuel Spavald, a carpenter of Hitchin M.M., Hertfordshire, whose minute carried appropriate endorsements. John Pemberton has written of Spavald that he was "greatly favored in his Growth in the Root." Others may have regarded him as visionary, flighty. His most famous vision occured in 1754, which he reported to his monthly meeting and which consisted of a cloud the size of a man's hand seen over the city of London, from which a voice cried, "Both church and State bear rule by the Spirit of error." The scene faded and was replaced by a Friends business meeting. From the still evident cloud came the query "Canst thou die for 'em?" The vision had peculiar

applicability to Nantucket in its difficult dilemma. On the other hand it was probably only a reflection of Spavald's deep seated doubt that he had fully overcome his conversion from a very gay young manhood. With his visit the account of entreath between 1748 and 1758 is finished. We turn now to scrutinize the Quaker families on the island during the decade.

Growth was marked. In the ten years membership enlarged from 815 to 1150 by means of 435 births, 60 convincements, and 3 transfers into the meeting. Losses consisted of 150 deaths and 13 removals to other meetings. Family units grew from 170 to 275. Proportionally the meeting was more self-contained than at any time in its past. During the twenties and thirties particularly there had been an ebb and flow of Friends to and from Nantucket meeting from outside. The forties met a dwindling which was nearly a stoppage of this phenomenon in the fifties. Yet family units increased at the greatest rate in the history of the of the meeting. In the next period of Quakerism on the island expectation for growth, by all signs would far surpass the period just closing. From 1698 to 1758 it can safely be assumed that the mean increase of membership per decade was 40 persons on Nantucket. In other words the normal growth in the old period of island Quakerism was to find in each decade that the net accessions totalled forty persons above each preceding figure. From 1698 to 1708 the growth exceeded the mean by 12%. From 1708 to 1718 the mean was exactly achieved. By far the greatest growth came from 1718 to 1728, when the towns moved east and the Congregational Society started. Expansion then was 112% above the mean. From 1728 to 1738 growth exceeded the mean by 37%, a marked decline in the ratio of expansion. And from 1738 to 1748, only the mean itself was the practical achievement. From 1748 to 1758 the downward trend was reversed, with a 50% excess of mean encountered. Very probably the latter increased trend was maintained till well after the Revolutionary War, though no figures have been compiled to date. Marriage in the 1748-1758 decade reached the high figure of 120, while 22 Friends married in addition out of meeting.

The most powerful Quaker clan, the Starbucks, lost their head the great Nathaniel, and his wife Dinah also. Unfortunately his will was never evaluated in pounds, shillings and pence. We know therefore little more than that the whaling magnate was a millionaire, probably the first on the island, who left extensive properties in Newport, on Marthas Vineyard, on Nantucket, and in whaling ships on the ocean. His wife received "all his Indian slaves" by his will, while Paul Starbuck was named the chief heir. Paul Starbuck was another of the island millionaires, the large member of which Crevecoeur noted in his book. Paul lost his second wife Kezia, a representative of the "Judith Wilcox holding company" in 1749, and he then remarried in 1751 a fashionable Boston widow Elizabeth (Stratton) Coffin, sister of n'er do well Caleb Stratton, and ~~husband~~ wife of a distant Puritan cousin of the Starbucks. Millionaire Paul Starbuck died in 1759, bequeathing his widow his mansion and a third of his estate as long as she lived. Paul's manner of living was considerably more elaborate than his father's as is evidenced by silver plate he left valued at $2,100.00. Most of the fortune held by Paul Starbuck went to his son, Edward, who continued in close collaboration with millionaire Zephaniah Coffin, who in turn represented the original land wealth of Gov. Tristram Coffin. The two chief families remained in close working unity. Two of Paul's younger sons married in these years, John, who was drowned, chose a non-Quaker widow originally from Boston, a woman whom he wed out of meeting in 1750. John's estate, which was probated in 1757, is most illuminating as typically representative of a young merchant of a favored house just launched in trade. His assets stood at $99, 281.20, including $19, 500.00 worth of sheep commons, $15,000.00 invested in a whaling warehouse, and a $45,000.00 mansion. His current obligations came to $41,332.20 of which over $11,000.00 could not be liquidated unless the sheep commons were placed on the market. As a matter of fact John's shares in the Proprietary were held by the Starbuck Trust, and Paul Starbuck had to procure a special order from the Superior Court of Judicature to enable their sale. John's brother, Samuel,

the carpenter married a Barney, his cousin, in meeting in 1749.

Other developments in the Starbuck clan included the marriage of sons of two of Paul Starbuck's brothers. Tristram Starbuck's son married a daughter of Judith Gardner in 1751, and Benjamin Starbuck, Jr. wed out of meeting a non-Quaker Bunker, with whom he removed subsequently to Hudson, N. Y. to set up whaling there. Paul Starbuck's uncle Jethro Starbuck continued as senior elder, while his son, cousin and minister William Starbuck married his younger son in 1755 to a half off-islander Upham. The older brother a bachelor was drowned during the war. Paul's cousin Thomas Starbuck married off two sons in 1751 and 1753 to a hitherto non-Quaker Coleman, and to a daughter of Daniel Folger; thereby the great smuggler achieved a Starbuck brother-in-law.

The Coffin clan, largest in the meeting, numbering 155 members in 1758 was divided into three branches. The financial Coffins were represented by millionaire Zephaniah Coffin who married two sons in 1751 and 1755 to daughters of Samuel Bunker and Eliphalet Paddock. Zephaniah's first cousin Tristram Coffin buried his wife in 1757. She was Jemima (Barnard) Coffin, daughter of Ebenezer. Unlike most Nantucket widowers Tristram never remarried. He was, however, one of those nominal Friends so carefully scrutinized the year of his wife's death, when he asked for a whaling certificate. The committee of inquiry included his cousin Benjamin Coffin and elder Barnabas Gardner. Tristram's younger brother Peter Coffin, Jr. married into the meeting in 1750 when he wed a daughter of minister Elihu Coleman.

The Edgartown Coffins were chiefly represented by miller Samuel Coffin who lost his faithful wife, Miriam (Gardner) Coffin, aged 65 in 1750. Samuel then lived with his son John the merchant and his daughter-in-law the smuggler. Already we have observed the remarriage of one of Samuel's nephews and the deaths of two others during the war. All of these lived in Edgartown itself. A fourth nephew and brother to the first three was David Coffin who came among Friends in 1757 by marrying a daughter of Johathan Folger.

The really large branch of the Coffin family were the descendents of Representative

James Coffin, despite that man's anti-Quaker viewpoint. He was, it will be recalled, an older non-Quaker brother of the great Mary Starbuck. Capt. Richard Coffin the first of this line to enter the meeting married two sons in 1749 and in 1753 significantly to a sister of the great smuggler and to a daughter of Paul Starbuck. A bachelor son was included among the war casualties of 1756. Two nephews of Capt. Richard Coffin, brothers joined the meeting in 1749 and 1754 by marrying daughters of George Hussey and John Folger, the younger. The older nephew, Peleg Coffin, was among those drowned in 1756. The younger nephew, William Coffin, was on of seventeen youths in process of marriage applications the month he "passed meeting". Capt. Richard Coffin's cousin, schoolteacher Benjamin Coffin, had four sons to marry in these years in 1757, 1754, 1754 and 1757; to daughters of Barnabas Coleman, Benjamin Barney, Daniel Hussey and Elihu Coleman. The youngest son, Micajah,merits special attention as he was to carry the attenuated classical tradition on Nantucket to its full flowering in the middle period of Quakerism on Nantucket. Apprenticed to his father-in-law, Micajah was more interested in Latin constructions, than in building houses. Later he owned a ship-yard. William Coffin, schoolteacher Benjamin's second son, was among those drowned in 1756. And his widow unexpectedly never married again. It may be recalled that the schoolteacher's brother Nathaniel Coffin, Jr. had married a fashionable Newport woman. Quakerism ran then in this family as was evidenced by the elopment of his eldest daughter with one of the Congregationalist Coffins in 1757. A first cousin of both Capt. Richard and schoolteacher Benjamin was Zaccheus Coffin who married his heir in 1756 to a daughter of Daniel Paddock. Lastly a nephew of Zaccheus, one Thomas Coffin, joined meeting in 1756 by marrying a daughter of John and Abigail (Starbuck) Russell. Thus the Coffins expanded in the decade in question.

Like the Coffins the Gardner tribe was divided into three main groups. The first of these were the descendents of the late minister, Nathaniel Gardner. His eldest son Capt. Ebenezer had married, it will be recalled a second time out of meeting.

The children by the second marriage, however, turned out to be as much Quakers as those of the first marriage. One such married a daughter of minister Lydia (Hoag) Worth, about the time that worthy departed the island in 1749. He was unfortunately lost off the whaling fleet in 1756. Another son who didn't join meeting married a daughter of n'er do well John Beard before a magistrate in 1751. Capt. Ebenezer's brother, blacksmith Andrew Gardner, married off two sons in 1751 and 1753, to daughters of John Beard and Shubael Folger respectively. And two nephews of Capt. Ebenezer and blacksmith Andrew joined in 1750 and 1756 by marrying Folgers; a non-Quaker niece of Rep. Abishai, and a daughter of Shubael.

Cousins to the senior Gardner line were the sons of James Gardner who had married a daughter of the great Mary Starbuck. The head of this line was Samuel Gardner who married a second time in 1749 a niece of the late Stephen Hussey, one Mary (Swett) Swain, sister of Deliverance (Swett) Coleman, and widow of John Swain, Jr. She died three years later. And Samuel himself passed away in 1757 aged 72, having served the meeting usefully in the capacity of overseer for 45 years. Three of Samuel's late brother Jethro Gardner's sons married in these years to: a non-Quaker Pinkham, a daughter of Daniel Paddock, and a non-Quaker Ellis, in 1752, 1752, and 1753. Left well-to-do orphans at the death of their mother, who was Paul Starbuck's second wife, it is only natural that they had developed non-Quaker tastes, and the oldest and youngest married out of meeting. The youngest, Jethro Gardner, Jr., died in 1758. Samuel Gardner's brother Barnabas married his heir in 1751 to a daughter of Joseph Worth. Barnabas also married two daughters of the island in 1750 and 1757. The elder wed Caleb Russell, the son of the founder of New Bedford. They withdrew from Nantucket in 1752 when she was given a minute of transfer signed by fifteen women Friends, certifying her "good Life & Solem Conversation." Evidently the inquiry over the departure of Sarah Worth three years earlier had crystalized procedures on transfers from within the membership. The younger married Philip Taber of Dartmouth M.M. also, and with the Caleb Russells became the first settlers of the town of New Bedford. A third daughter of Barnabas Gardner died in 1756, aged

30. A brother of Barnabas Gardner, Jonathan married two sons in the decade under question in 1749 and 1750. Both of whom were destined to leave the island. One married a Ray, the other a Long, in her case a granddaughter of the original Sarah Long. Parenthetically the grandmother herself died in 1757 at the advanced age of 92.

First cousins once removed to both the major lines of the Gardner clan was one Robert Gardner, who married his heir in 1752 to a daughter of Robert Macy, and buried his wife Jedidah (Folger) Gardner, daughter of Capt. Jethro, in 1757. She had been a birthright Friend of 46 years standing. Own first cousin to Robert Gardner was the politician David Gardner, who proceeded to marry his heir in 1758 strategically to a daughter of Rep. Abishai Folger. Two of David Gardners brothers joined meeting in 1750 and 1754 by marrying daughters of Philip Pollard and Thomas Starbuck. The junior line of the Gardner clan moved in the "best" circles.

The Folger tribe likewise was rising in its place of importance within the Quaker meeting at mid-century. In this case there was a senior and a junior line. The senior line was represented by the active elder Capt. Jethro Folger who married two sons in 1750 and 1753 to a non-Quaker Coffin and to a daughter of Thomas Barnard. Another son was among the casualties of 1756. Next in line after Capt. Jethro was his brother Jonathan Folger, who married a son to a daughter of Ebenezer Barnard in 1750, and buried his second wife in the same year. This wife Deborah (Bunker) Paddock-Folger he had married in 1728. Then in 1751 Jonathan Folger married a third time, to another Paddock widow, whose husband Daniel was a nephew of Deborah's first husband. The third wife was Susannah (Gorham) Paddock, originally from Cape Cod. A second in line after Capt. Jethro Folger was his brother Shubael, who married off two sons in 1754 and 1757, to a daughter of Timothy Barnard and to a hitherto non-Quaker Bunker. Lastly a great-nephew of Capt. Jethro, and a brother of Kezia the smuggler, married a non-Quaker Worth in meeting in 1757.

The junior line of the Folger house was represented by cousins once removed

of Capt. Jethro and his brothers. One of these cousins Barzillai Folger married two sons during this decade, in 1753 and in 1757, the first out of meeting to a daughter of Matthew Barnard, and the second in meeting to a daughter of Thomas Starbuck. This boy Walter Folger was to become the greatest scholar of Nantucket in the later colonial period. He came by his genius naturally. His mother was seventh favored child of minister Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, who held that place in her mother's family, the great Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, who held it in Gov. Tristram Coffin's household. And Walter Folger's wife brought Starbuck wealth to allow freedom from earning a livelihood. Barzillai's brother Rep. Abishai Folger married three sons by his late first wife Sarah (Mayhew) Folger; in 1749, 1752 and 1753, to a daughter of Capt. Richard Coffin and two daughters of book agent Barnabas Coleman. The youngest Timothy Folger was destined to follow his father in the Colonial Legislature, there to play a brilliant role in company with William Rotch. Like his cousin Walter Folger, Timothy had literary interests, and as well was a scientist, almost in a class with his cousin Benjamin Franklin. In Timothy's case, the Mayhew descent played an important role.

The head of the Macy clan, John Macy, jr., elder, a distinguished Quaker leader on Nantucket died at the ripe age of 76 in 1751, leaving an old maid daughter to look after his widow and bachelor son, Seth Macy. His holdings on Nantucket came to $113,320.60, and his farm in Dartmouth Township, in what is now Fairhaven, was valued at $5,476.80. Evidently the late "housewright" intended for the farm to be sold, as he divided its value up into small fractions among his heirs. To Judith, his widow, he left one third of the property plus, two cow commons valued at $5,300.00 apiece. Included in the inventory of the estate were 390 sheep commons listed at $41,663.60, or a valuation of $168.30 per sheep commons. On the basis of such a norm one cow commons had come to be worth about 31½ sheep commons, a surprising ratio, as originally the value had stood at one quarter the figure. Possibly locations of tracts of land accounted for the quadrupling of the valuation of the cow commons here involved. The sheep commons which were probated in 1749 were

estimated at $526.40 per commons, 3 1/8 times the valuation of Macy's shares two years later. One of three possible explanations must apply: one, the shares allowed for pasturage were located on poor ground; two, the market in wool had undergone a marked deterioration; three, the figures are given in progressively devalued currencies. Macy's inventory also included $4,326.80 as a quarter valuation of the sloop Nantucket, evidently a small coastwise vessel. A one sixth investment in the whaler Friendship came to $6,106.80. Even at that figure the valuation was so little as to indicate she was an obsolescent craft - on that the figure is quoted in a devalued currency. Roughly two-thirds of Macy's estate, minus particular bequests, was to be divided equally among his four sons. And one of these, William Macy died in 1753, very probably lost at sea. The son left property valued at $23,450.70, including some Dartmouth investments which he left in trust for his minor children. The estate spoke well for the industry of a young man of 25 years.

John Macy's brother ex-treasurer Thomas and wife lived on in retirement, looked after by Deborah their spinster daughter. Two of their grandsons, offsprings of son Joseph Macy, who had married out of meeting, became Friends in 1755 and 1757 by marrying within the firm, daughters of Tristram and William Starbuck. A third grandson, offspring of Robert Macy was unhappily among those drowned in 1755, though no reference has previously been made to his death. John Macy's brother giant Richard and his wife, continued actively in meeting affairs. One bachelor son lived with them. And in 1749 he married Caleb his executive son as observed in an earlier chapter. Caleb Macy succeeded Nathaniel Starbuck in the management of the Starbuck-Macy whaling house. Still another son Silvanus was lost at sea in 1755, though no notice of his death has been made hitherto. And one daughter was married in 1749 to a brother of Joseph Marshall, Jr. Finally John Macy's third brother minister Jabez Macy married off three sons in 1750, 1755, and 1755 to daughters of William Worth, Caleb Swain and Benjamin Coffin. Jabez and his active wife lived with one unmarried daughter. All four incipient lines of the Macy clan

had produced bachelors or old maids, a condition not met with earlier on the island.

Another clan which contained children who never married were the Worths. William and Mary (Butler) Worth had four such. It is possible they felt just a little superior to Nantucket people, as their mother who died in 1756, aged 58, came from the wealthiest and most cultivated family on the Vineyard. William Worth's brother Joseph also had one bachelor in his family. On the other hand Joseph Worth married off four sons in 1749, 1749, 1753 and 1757 to two daughters of Silvanus Allen in the first two instances, and to daughters of William Starbuck and Francis Swain in the last two. A nephew of William and Joseph Worth, a son of Sarah Meade, Benjamin by name, died in North Carolina in 1750, where he had gone to discover what the prospects were for immigration "thereaways". His widow Mary (Folger) Worth, daughter of Shubael a year later remarried Peleg Coleman son of Solomon, and remained on the island. Still another son of Sarah Meade married a daughter of Thomas Macy in 1752, and took her to the family home in Amesbury, Mass.

As for the Coleman tribe, John and Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman were the grand old couple of the meeting. He had "sat head" from 1721, and only resigned the post in 1758, when she also relinquished the post of women's clerk, at which desk she had sat since 1743. She was senior minister of the meeting after her brother's death in 1753. Three of their sons had sons in turn to marry in this period. Minister Nathaniel wed his heir in 1754 to a Davis, half off-islander, and lost another son in 1756 among the war casualties. Minister Elihu wed his son William in 1756 to a non-Quaker Swain in meeting. Book agent Barnabas Coleman wed his heir in 1749 to a daughter of clerk Silvanus Hussey. And three sons of a fourth brother, Jethro Coleman, were drowned. No family was harder hit by the war years. The widow of one of these lads, namesake of his father, never remarried, but died many years later in Hudson, N. Y. where many Nantucketers eventually emigrated. John Coleman's brother Solomon Coleman married four sons in these

years (1748, 1755, 1751 and 1750) to: a daughter of Samuel Coffin, a non-Quaker Gardner in meeting, the widow of Benjamin Worth as above noticed, and a daughter of Jethro Folger. Finally a new convincement was that of Enoch Coleman, nephew of John and Solomon, who married a Myrick under the care of the meeting in 1749.

The clerk of the meeting Capt. Silvanus Hussey married off four sons in 1748, 1750, 1756 and 1757, to a Boston Coffin (she being a step-daughter of Paul Starbuck's widow), to a sister of Peleg Coffin (nephew of schoolteacher Benjamin), to an Alice Gray of Lynn, Mass. (transferred from Salem M.M. by certificate some months after the wedding), and to a daughter of Daniel Paddock. One of Capt. Silvanus' daughters by his first wife, Mary (Hussey) Swain, wife of Peleg, joined meeting in 1750 and was buried in 1758. In the year of her convincement her brother and the clerk's heir, Capt. Daniel Hussey, died in London while on business there for the Starbuck-Macy partnership. As Capt. Daniel had already two years since lost his Cape-born wife, Sarah (Gorham) Hussey, Capt. Silvanus was named executor of the estate, and guardian of their five minor grandchildren. Capt. Daniel's estate grossed $318,465.60, but only netted $276,633.40 when in final form it was probated in 1754. The property was sizeable, and a good index of how successful the head of Nantucket's whaling fleet had been, for after 1748 when Capt. Silvanus assumed the meeting clerkship, his heir acted as coordinator of the Nantucket whaling fleet. Daniel Hussey left imported clocks and watches valued at $7,000.00, Indian debts worth $3,500.00 and sizeable shares in three top notch whalers; each outfitted at the dazzling cost of $125,000.00 apiece. Half of the Two Brothers brought $62,500.00. One quarter of the Hephzibah netted $31,250.00. And one sixth of the Macy went for $15,625.00. About a third of the estate was invested in these three vessels. One son of Daniel Hussey was married to a daughter of Matthew Barnard in 1756. This son was named Stephen Hussey after his colorful great-grandfather. Batchelor Hussey's son Stephen to whom, the grandfather had willed his law books, had long since departed with his father to Biddeford, Maine to live. Consequently Daniel's son Stephen was the second of that name to become an active member of Nantucket meeting.

A brother of Capt. Daniel, one Capt. Seth Hussey, the other "brother" for whom the whaler was named, died in prison in France in 1756. His estate apparently was not large. A second line of the Hussey clan was represented by John Hussey, son of the emigrated Batchellor Hussey, and nephew of the clerk. He was "lost overboard in going to N. C." in 1749, enroute to explore the Coresound area as a place to which to remove. His death kept the family on Nantucket as was the case with Benjamin Worth's family. And a son of the late John Hussey married a daughter of Caleb Swain in 1758.

The Swain tribe had conveniently divided into an older and a younger house. William and Jemima (Coffin) Swain represented the older line now grown quite respectable. In 1756 Jemima changed her last will and testament which she had made out when she was ward of her uncle Jethro Starbuck, and when she was victim of broken romance. Now two of their sons married in 1750 and 1752, out of meeting as it happened, to an Ellis and a non-Quaker Bunker. In 1750 a nephew of William Swain, one Seth Swain became a Friend by marrying a daughter of Capt. Richard Gardner. Seth was a brother of Francis and Tristram and a son of Mary (Swett) Swain-Gardner, who died in another year. Seth Swain perished in 1757 during the war, though no mention of his death has been made hitherto. His widow Abigail (Coffin) Swain remarried in 1759 a son of Joseph Worth. Tristram Swain, Seth's brother, on the other hand lost his wife Phoebe (Coffin) Swain, a sister of Seth's wife it happened, in 1754. A year later Tristram took as his second wife Anna (Worth) Macy, coincidentally a daughter of Joseph Worth, and then widow of the Abraham Macy, who had been drowned in the Bay of Biscay. Their wedding was the first recorded in Volume III of "A Book of Records of the Certificates of Friends Marriages on the Island of Nantucket by Order of the Monthly Meeting." Another nephew of William Swain, and cousin to Francis, Tristram and Seth, was Reuben Swain, who also lost his wife, Elizabeth (Howland) Swain in 1751, originally of Dartmouth. Five years later Reuben remarried, his choice then being a daughter of Zaccheus Macy. The junior house of Swain was represented by Caleb Swain a cousin of

William, who married two sons in 1755 and 1753 to daughters of Joseph Macy and William Worth. Nephews of Caleb Swain, and brothers of Joseph and Jonathan Swain next joined Friends in 1751 and 1753 by marrying daughters of George Hussey and Robert Gardner. Jonathan Swain's wife, it happened, one Hephzibah (Folger) Swain, daughter of Capt. Jethro, died in 1750, and Jonathan took in 1754 as his second wife a member of a non-Quaker Folger line.

Elder Jabez Bunker died in 1750. Evidently he had been generous during his lifetime, as he had built houses for three of his children at a cost of $15,000.00 and then gave them free holds to go with their dwellings. His house he left for the use of Judith, his widow. And after her death the house and its furnishings went to his two youngest sons, for whom he had not erected dwellings. To his son Paul the Proprietary agent, he gave his blacksmith forge, and to his son Samuel his writing desk. Otherwise his executor was directed to divide the property equally. Apparently Jabez made no special provision for a bachelor son and an old maid daughter, but then they were probably considered extra useful hands in households of nieces and nephews. The next to youngest son Peter Bunker was drowned in 1755 as before observed. He had married early in 1749 a daughter of Jethro Gardner, to whom the court gave his real estate and sheep commons in trust for infant children. The youngest son, Peleg Bunker, married a daughter of Joseph Worth in 1749. Samuel Bunker, Jabez heir and possessor of his father's desk, it will be recalled was disowned in 1755. Two years before he had married his heir to a daughter of millionaire Zephaniah Coffin. She died in 1756, and the heir remarried, a niece of Quaker Allen's being his choice. Earlier in 1750, Samuel Bunker had lost a daughter aged 18. A nephew of Jabez Bunker, James Bunker lost his wife Bethiah (Jenkins) Bunker, aged 30 in 1749. James took the loss hard and stayed "abroad" after a whaling voyage. Years later it was reported that he had died overseas. James's brother Capt. Simeon Bunker was lost at sea in 1751, leaving an estate which came to $28,991.60 of which $5,326.80 was estimated to be the value of his dwelling house. Among his books were found at least three Quaker items: Bardays <u>Apology</u>,

Penn's No Cross no crown and the latter's Maxims. Simeon's widow Huldah (Hussey) Bunker, daughter of Batchellor, and first of the Nantucket birthright Friends, subsequently in 1753 married Treasurer Benjamin Barney, who had also lost his wife in 1751. The first wife was Lydia (Starbuck) Barney, a minister and pillar of the meeting, aged 47 the year of her death. Two nephews of James and Simeon Bunker finish off the Bunker clan. They were David and Shubael, first cousins of each other. David was one of the casualties of 1755. His widow did not remarry till much later. Shubael joined meeting in 1750 by marrying a daughter of David Paddock.

Judith Wilcox continued to wield a decisive influence in Quaker affairs, though she could not prevent her son John Wilcox from marrying a non-Quaker Coffin out of meeting in 1748. She lost her son Nathaniel Barnard III in 1749 when the sloop captained by his cousin Timothy Barnard went down in a West Indies hurricane. Timothy Barnard's widow, Mary (Bunker) Barnard died of a broken heart a year later, leaving four minor children to be looked after by their vigorous grandmother, Judith Barnard, who sat head of the women's meeting from 1743 to 1763. She then married Timothy's heir in 1755 to a hitherto non-Quaker Fitch. The Barnard clan was thus dominated by two elderly widows. Sharing in their control, was their brother-in-law Ebenezer Barnard, whose son Stephen Barnard lost his wife Eunice (Starbuck) Barnard aged 22, in 1750. Stephen in 1754 remarried, his second wife being a daughter of George Swain. And a younger brother of Stephen married a Congregationalist Coffin in their meeting house in 1751. A fourth evolving line of the Barnard clan was represented by the brothers Robert and Matthew Barnard, nephews of the widows and Ebenezer. Robert Barnard married off his heir in 1756 to an Edgartown Coffin; Matthew Barnard married off three sons in 1748, 1749 and 1752, to a daughter of Barzillai Folger, to a hitherto non-Quaker daughter of Capt. Ebenezer Gardner, and to a Congregationalist Coffin, in that case under the care of Parson White. The Barnards were, as before observed, people of quality.

There were eleven clans to be found in Nantucket meeting, representing the first families of the island. We have covered them in this order: Starbuck,

Coffin, Gardner, Folger, Macy, Worth, Coleman, Hussey, Swain, Bunker and Barnard. Next follow the secondary families, and lastly the new comers.

George and Abigail (Trott) Brown were definitely representative of the secondary grouping. They lost a bachelor son aged 29 in 1750, and two other sons married out of meeting in 1755 and 1751 to an Ellis and a Davis respectively. Their grandmother, since deceased, was the only non-first family petitioner for the Friends Meeting on Nantucket. The Jenkins meet the description of "secondary" despite their mother having been born a Gardner. Matthew Jenkins lost both a son and a grandson in 1755, as before noticed. Another son, Joseph, lost his wife Ann(Macy) Jenkins in 1756. He subsequently in 1758 married Ruth (Barnard) Clark, daughter of Matthew Barnard, and widow of Peter Clark. This Peter Clark, son of Thomas, who died in 1751 aged 43, also qualifies as belonging to a secondary family. And Joseph Jenkins lost a young unmarried daughter in 1756. A sizeable secondary family were the Pinkhams represented by weaver Shubael, who married a son in 1755 to a daughter of Matthew Jenkins. Shubael's brother James Pinkham lost his wife Sarah (Coffin) Stanton-Pinkham, daughter of Samuel Coffin aged 32 in 1750. And in 1755 James Pinkham married a hitherto non-Quaker Folger. A nephew of Shubael's and James', one Theophilus Pinkham had a son Reuben to marry a daughter of Paul Starbuck out of meeting. He was the whaler to die of smallpox in a French prison a year later. His widow so remained for many years. There follow next the irregular Stratton family. Caleb lost his wife Lois (Odar) Stratton, aged 47 in 1755 and a daughter aged 19 in 1749. In 1756 Caleb married a non-Quaker Long out of meeting. Two of his sons wed out of meeting in 1756, to a Gwinn and to a Russell. Another similar irregular marriage was that of Silvanus Allen's heir to a Kidder. And after the Allens, we come to the Paddocks. Anne Paddock lost her husband, the one-time erring Nathaniel Paddock in 1756. A grandson of theirs Daniel Paddock, was married out of meeting in 1751 to a daughter of Zaccheus Coffin. In this case Daniel and wife got around the the requirement of apologizing for a "disorderly" marriage, by registering their children as Friends at "request of parents." A nephew of Nathaniel Paddock, one

Eliphalet Paddock married three sons in 1750, 1754, and 1758 to a daughter of Jonathan Gardner, to a Congregational Coffin in church, and to a daughter of Samuel Stanton. The Russells were represented by a daughter of John and Ruth (Starbuck) Russell who married a non-Quaker Hussey out of meeting, and by John Russell's nephew who married a daughter of Zaccheus Coffin in meeting in 1757. A last secondary family was represented by Zaccheus Howes who lost his wife Lydia (Gardner) Howes, daughter of Capt. Ebeneezer in 1751, aged 23. He did not remarry, but followed her in death in 1759.

The newcomers in family names can be conveniently divided into two groups: those who had lived on the island for a generation, and those who moved on during the decade. In the first grouping we find eight names. William Clasby, from England, married three sons in 1749, 1753 and 1757, to daughters of Samuel Bunker, Jonathan Gardner and William Starbuck, in the last instance out of meeting. The eldest son lost his wife Phoebe (Bunker) Clasby in 1751 in childbirth. She was only 20 years of age. Another son died at sea, aged 24 in 1749. William Clasby then buried his wife Abial (Gardner) Clasby in 1756 when she was 66 years of age. She had served the meeting well as elder for 30 years. In 1754 the youngest son of the late Josiah Barker of Woods Hale married a daughter of minister Richard Mitchell out of meeting. Mitchell himself in 1756 sent his most promising boy Joseph, aged 15, to be apprenticed in Newport, the father's place of origin. The boy was given a proper transfer of membership, which he brought back to Nantucket in mature years when he became one of the outstanding ministers during the second period of Nantucket Quakerism. Richard Mitchell had already in 1755 married his heir to a daughter of Robert Barnard. In 1757 David Jay, once of Dartmouth married his heir to a daughter of John Way by his first wife. And a brother of this bride in 1753 had married a daughter of Joseph Macy. The origin of the Way family is obscure. Benjamin Barney, once of Newport married his heir to a son of Peter Jenkins in 1753, at a time when eleven weddings were handled simultaneously by the meeting. And in 1756 the heir of the late Samuel Stanton, also of Newport at one time, was

married to a daughter of Zaccheus Macy. Finally among the settled families of the meeting we find four brothers of William Ray "marrying in." The dates were 1749, 1753, 1756 and 1757 and their wives were daughters of minister Nathaniel Coleman, physician Zaccheus Macy, elder Jonathan Gardner and selectman Peter Barnard. Where the Rays came from is unknown.

Five new names were added in the decade from 1748 to 1758. They were Williams, Davis, Waterman, Nichols and Coggeshall. James Williams married an Upham in 1750, each half off-islanders. Thomas Davis, likewise half Nantucketer wed a daughter of Thomas Macy in 1752. John Waterman, noticed in a previous chapter married a daughter of John Beard in 1756. Joseph Nichols, formerly of Boston, married in 1757 a daughter of Matthew Barnard. And finally the brothers Job and Peleg Coggeshall, once members of Rhode Island M.M. at Newport, transferred their membership by getting wartime certificates, and then married into Nantucket Meeting in 1756 and 1758 to a daughter of Tristram Starbuck and to a hitherto non-Quaker Folger. With these names we finish, not a complete survey of the membership, but only those families, which married children or suffered deaths. And even at that such families as the Ratches are excluded, as they were adequately treated in the preceeding chapter. Altogether in addition to the eleven clan names, there were 32 surnames listed in the membership of Nantucket M.M. in 1758, a total of 43.

The interest of Nantucketers in North Carolina as a place of settlement was a marked phenomenon during the decade. That province was in process of rapid settlement. And as it was to become a second Nantucket, a word about development in that quarter is appropriate. The pine barrens which had so long separated the old Roanoke settlements from Charleston were rapidly filling in after 1746 with Jacobite Scottish Highlanders. In South Carolina itself indigo culture introduced in 1757 gave further impetus to settlement. Falling Creek Monthly Meeting was set up in the barrens of North Carolina in 1748 to be followed quickly in 1751 by Cane Creek Monthly meeting in the Piedmont area. The next year the Moravians under Spangenburg began their negotiations for Wachovia, present day Winston-Salem. That

That year Dunns Creek Monthly Meeting, founded in the Cape Fear area in 1743, followed the example of Coresound M.M. in becoming a part of North Carolina Quarterly Meeting. In 1753 another Cape Fear meeting, Carvers Creek M. M. affiliated. Two piedmont meetings followed: New Garden M. M. in 1754, destined to be the centre of the new Nantucket, and Fredericksburgh M. M. in South Carolina settled from Charleston M. M. (since 1731 under the care of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting). Friends expanded southwards into Georgia where the Anglican church incidentally was established in 1758. All told six of the nine new monthly meetings of the 1748-1758 decade were located in the Carolinas. The one new Quarterly Meeting of the period was created for the Pennsylvania frontier with headquarters at New Garden, London Grove and Nottingham in 1758, set off from Chester Q. M. In North Carolina New Bern became the first permanent capitol in 1749, which however did not mark political equilibrium in this once Quaker-dominated colony as opposition to the move from the old Edenton neighborhood resulted in a decade in which two rival governments sat. Nevertheless, the region prospered, and expanded rapidly, due in some measure of 1748 to the throttling policies of the Board of Trade which spelled the doom of the planters on Barbados.

Even in Virginia, Quakerism expanded, though mostly in the piedmont region. The obvious collapse of Episcopal control in 1759 following upon a complete revision of the laws of that colony made it a friendlier place for dissenters. Apparently Nantucketers ignored this area as they did Maryland, which after 1751 was exploited by Frederick, Lord Baltimore for all he could get from that proprietary colony, now Anglican rather than Catholic. Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey have already been discussed in connection with Israel Pemburton's efforts in behalf of peace. When we reach New York, we come to a colony in which Nantucketers had an active interest, especially as they early realized that the Hudson river possessed a tremendous economic potential. New York City with 12, 750 inhabitants in 1754 had handled $1,000,000 in furs alone out of the Mohawk Valley each year after 1749. As the inland country opened up, tremendous additional trading profits could be expected.

And after the Seven Years War Quakerism spread rapidly up the river and onto the northern frontier. Nantucket Quakers would be participants in the expansion.

In New England Quakerism grew slowly. An English Friend, James Tasker of Oxford, Berkshire, who visited Nantucket in 1757, is reported as having great success in converting the Congregationalists in Connecticut to Quakerism. No doubt the report was exagerated.

The state church seemed as well entrenched as before. And after 1755 they had an official newspaper the Connecticut Gazette. As a matter of fact no additional monthly meeting was set up in New England between 1748 and 1758. In the political scene in Massachusetts, Gov. Shirley was replaced by Gov. Thomas Powell who continued in office till 1760. He proved a good administrator. Chief Justice Benjamin Lynde 1729-1745 who presided over the Gardner vs Hussey case of 1738 was replaced by Paul Dudley. He gave way in 1752 to Judge Stephen Sewall who remained in legal control also till 1760. Sewall had liquidated a portion of the Starbuck monopoly in favor of settling John Starbuck's estate. Financially the colony was managed largely through a grant of $2,700,000 in bullion which Parliament made in 1754. Colonial taxes came to $2,400,000 in 1758, a gain of $450, 000 over the ten-year period. Even then the colony needed more external financial assistance which was forthcoming in 1761. As for literary life, these years were the halcyon days par excellence for diarists. Interest in practical matters was reflected in Jared Eliot's Essays on Field Husbandry published in 1748. James Logan, a Philadelphia Friend had already issued in Latin at Leyden in 1739 a study in the fertilizing of maize. Though nothing appears to have been written on the subject, mackerel fishing after 1740 had replaced the earlier development of the cod fishing. The establishment of Halifax in 1749 as a fort to balance French Louisbourg gave a sense of security to whaling as well as lesser fisheries. On Nantucket itself, fishing villages were in process of formation at Quidnet, Sankaty and Sconset on the eastern beaches, while seining the ponds was undertaken by the Proprietary.

Once the war was over the district of Maine would open up for extensive settlement. And there, as in Nova Scotia, we find Natucketers assuming the leadership in pioneering, roughly equivilent to the role undertaken in North Carolina and New York. Finally symbolizing the clear light which the Peace of Paris would allow shed on the future expansion of the Nantucket community and its off-shoots, there was the rebuilding of the Brant Point light in the autumn of 1758. The old light had burned up. A new light was needed for a new age. Its builders were all men of the younger generation: Rep. Abishai Folger, physician Zaccheus Macy, and minister Richard Mitchell. There remains now for us to examine the five years lying ahead till the Peace of Paris was signed.

Chapter 15

"... the indespensible comforts of life"

1758-1763

Every community boasts its local rhymsters. Nantucket produced them in profusion. One such was Phineas Fanning, son -in-law of Kezia (Folger) Coffin, the great smuggler. In 1776 Fanning is supposed to have written the following bit of verse which is locally well known:

The Rays and Russels coopers are
The knowing Folgers lazy
A lying Coleman very rare
And scarce a learned Hussey

The Coffins noisy fractious loud
The silent Gardners plodding
The Mitchells good, the Barkers proud
The Macys eat the pudding

And to these two verses has been added a third, from an unknown hand:

The Swains are swinish, clownish called
The Barnards very civil
The Starbucks they are loud to bawl
The Pinkhams beat the devil.

How true the epithets ring depends, of course, upon what period of Nantucket history they are taken to apply. Very probably they represent a fair appraisal of the years from 1758 to 1763. And as we take a final survey of the community in the old colonial period attention will be drawn to any likenesses between the truth and the doggerel as it stands. At any rate it serves as a useful introduction to the five years period under considerstion. For instance we find that Samuel Ray was a cooper. He lost his wife in 1758 and married a widow two years later. And then he died in 1762. As for the Russells one married in 1759, though it is not known what occupation he followed. That the Folgers may have been indolent is reflected in the fact that no estate of any size was probated for this family during these years. In 1761 one Folger married, and another the next year. On the side of indus-

triousness one discovers Rep. Abishai Folger serving as chairman of the Sherburne Board of Selectmen all through the five year period. And with him was to be found brother Barzillai Folger.

The integrity of the Colemans appears to have been unquestioned. Jethro Coleman late in 1758 was appointed to attend Quarterly Meeting carrying a report penned by Joseph Marshall Jr. and Benjamin Coffin, both schoolmasters. A year later Jethro went to Newport in company with Capt. Silvanus Hussey, while his brother Barnabas Coleman served on the epistle committee. At that time Jethro acted on Quarterly Meeting committee to consider an appeal from Swansea M. M. His more famous brother Elihu Coleman, the minister, reported on the general and select Yearly Meetings held at Newport in 1761, at the former of which Joseph Congdon succeeded John Casey as clerk. In the summer of 1761 Barnabas Coleman attended Quarterly Meeting, where he witnessed a large docket of appeals. That autumn Barnabas was appointed collector of the list of tax distraints, while Jethro attended the fall Quarterly Meeting again with Silvanus Hussey. In their final form the tax distraints was proofread by Joseph Marshall Jr., and audited by him. In 1762 Barnabas was approved as an elder of official standing. Elihu Coleman was then asked to carry that information to Newport in company with William Hussey. And soon thereafter Barnabas' wife, Rachel Coleman, was named an overseer officially. At Yearly Meeting Barnabas was on hand as official representative to the select Yearly Meeting in 1762. The spring Quarterly Meeting preceeding found Jethro Coleman and Silvanus Worth in Newport. A year later Elihu Coleman attended in company with Silvanus Hussey. They carried with them in final form the memorial to Elihu's mother, Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, who had died aged 86, two months after her husband John Coleman Jr. had passed away aged 95. The final paper had been prepared by Silvanus Hussey, Richard Macy and Capt. Jethro Folger. They also reported that a memorial for Moses Ald-

rich, an old friend of Nantucket from Smithfield M. M. had been read at Newport; and that Hussey was named a representative to Yearly Meeting in 1762. Elihu Coleman was asked to attend the Quarterly select Meeting, which began in the fall of 1762 to call the roll of its representatives in a formal way. Meanwhile in the spring of 1763 Lydia Coleman, wife of Jethro, was formally recorded as an overseer. And Barnabas Coleman attended the summer Quarterly Meeting in 1762 with William Hussey, while Jonathan Macy joined the unusually small group of correspondents. At that time Elihu Coleman reported that the 1762 Yearly Meeting had held acceptable meetings for worship, except on Sixth day morning, and for a few words spoken on First Day morning. There is little doubt the the Colemans bore the brunt of meeting business between 1758 and 1763, and may well have been responsible for the women's meeting first answering queries in 1763, as they brought back the revied queries issued in 1762. Only two Colemans married during these years, they in 1759 and 1762.

In 1759 Silvanus Jr. and Alice (Gray) Hussey got certificates to Salem M. M., from which she had come originally. They were replaced by a Hussey couple married before the year was out. Them in the spring of 1760, Silvanus Hussey Sr. presented a bill for the nails used in the repair of the meetinghouse that year which came to $6.90 in new tenor money. Hezekiah Coffin who did the repairs, which were of a major order, recieved $166.90 a month earlier. In 1758 David Joy had recieved $770.00, but this figure is estimated from the old inflated currency and probably represented about $110.00 in the new tenor notes of the day. The women in the spring of 1762 appointed an auditing committee to render in the new currency the accounts of Hephzibah Hussey. Mehitababel Pollard and Sarah (Starbuck) Barney were entrusted with the job. It was found that $1,684.00 at face value had shrunk to $220.60, or 1/8 of the original amount. Most colonial historians estimate a 1/7 fraction for the devalued money. Evidently the figures given by

the women's meeting on Nantucket are accurate. The Women's balance subsequently declined materially as only $18.90 was reported in the treasury in 1762 when Sarah Barney was the lone auditor. Silvanus Hussey Sr. was at Quarterly Meeting in the spring of 1760 with Philip Pollard while John Macy III made his appearance as an epistle writer. In the fall of 1760 Silvanus was again in Newport, while another of the tribe married. In 1762 the term "overseer" was first written into the minutes as such, when Hephzibah Hussey was so named. To report that appointment Silvanus Hussey and Philip Pollard went to Newport in the fall. A third Hussey then married in 1762. Learned or not the Husseys appeared to be financially astute and as well most useful to the wider work of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. The roster of town officials in 1763 included four Husseys, two Colemans, three Russells, and four Rays. Obviously the families of Fanning's first verse were people of consequence in the wider community.

The Coffins as befitting the most numerous, if not the noisiest clan, witnessed a fair number of new marriages; one in 1759, one in 1761, and two in 1762. Schoolteacher Benjamin Coffin lost his wife Jedidah (Hussey) Coffin in 1759 aged 51. In 1762 he took a daughter of Thomas Macy as his second wife. In 1760 Shubael Coffin, heir of millionaire Zephaniah, lost his wife aged only 24 years. He married again in 1764. Two more deaths occured early in 1763. One was Tristram Coffin, aged 40 he being the Nantucket Tristram of the youngest Coffin line. The other was Samuel Coffin, the miller and charter member who died at the home of his daughter, the smuggler, at the age of 83. His life had been spent very largely in the interests of Quakerism, and he left a large number of consistantly strong Quaker descendants. Samuel Coffin also left 30 cow commons, valued at $18,750.00, or $625.00 per commons, a figure relatively in line with the then currently inflated prices. He held shares in all the town wharves, even in the South Wharf which was built between 1760 and 1762. Tristram Coffin left his farm-

ing equipment and 31 sheep commons, value not given, to his son Abishai. An unnumbered quantity of cow commons went to his four daughters who also got the household effects. A calash or household carriage were among the items inventoried. Apparently Tristram was only moderately well to do.

One wonders if the Gardners were not rather "plotting" than plodding. At any rate they were a very active clan. Capt. David Gardner was probably the most influential Friend on Nantucket as the era came to a close. He was among the correspondants to Quarterly Meeting and a frequent attender at Newport. The Gardners outdid the Coffins in marriage statistics. Six were married in 1759 on the island, while a seventh wed a girl named Lamb, probably under the care of the meeting in Newport. In 1761 three Gardners married in meeting, at a time when twelve intentions were before the meeting. and one more Gardner was married in 1762. As for the Gardner deaths, they too were numerous. Andrew Gardner Jr. was drowned at sea in 1759. The next year Matthew Gardner, son of the late Jethro left this life, and a young widow who married again some years later. Matthew, who was a captain, left an estate to his daughters valued at $12,383.00. In 1761 Peleg Gardner, Matthew's brother died leaving a fair sized estate. As he had married into Sandwich M. M., his son and heir a member of that meeting was named to recieve his house, but only after his mother's death. Meanwhile the household effects went to the daughters in the family. As Peleg Gardner had been serving as the legal guardian for young Peter Bunker, he willed that responsibility to Samuel Bunker, uncle of the boy. We have no cash figures unfortunately on the value of Peleg's estate. Then in 1763, Capt. Ebeneezer Gardner died. He was it will be recalled the first man married by Friends ceremony on Nantucket. He had, however, been long since married to a second wife outside the discipline of the Friends Meeting. Incidentally she was the first person of whom we have record that she went insane. After Ebeneezer's death Nantucket County declared she was incapable of handling his estate. It hap-

pened Capt. Ebeenezer's property was in a bad way. His inventory of assets came to the huge sum of $200,638.00 but the debits ran $183,000.00. Everything had to be liquidated including a $50,250.00 mansion, fee simple land at $61,250.00 and Proprietary shares valued at $78,050.00. Other than this caved-in real estate, the Gardner affairs feflected the normal growth in the finances of the period on Nantucket.

The good Mitchells welcomed back from Newport the young minister, Joseph Mitchell, who married in 1763. In later years Joseph was to move to Greenwich M. M., where he was known for his "quick discerning spirit and remarkable stability". He was active in the anti-slavery lobby in Newport, and kept to the the utmost simplicity in his manner of living. He died in 1786 in Pennsylvania while traveling in the ministry. Earlier on Nantucket in 1759 another Mitchell had been married. But as that family was pretty new on Nantucket, we cannot expect them to take a more prominent part in community affairs than they did. The "proud" Barkers were apparently too proud to appear in civic affairs before 1763. Their marriages out of meeing were to lead them to become the chief rivals of William Rotch and the Quaker party during the Revolutionary war. One son, however, during the period drew near to Friends by losing his wife Elizabeth (Mitchell) Barker in 1761, and subsequently remarrying within the meetinghouse.

As for the Macys they were apparently very successful outside and inside the meeting despite the disownment of one of them to be discussed in the next chapter. Death claimed Thomas Macy, aged 72, the one-time treasurer of town county and meeting. Thomas' wife Deborah followed him in 1761, being the first Friend memorialized at Newport. Their nephew Jonathan Macy and his wife ~~took~~ Thomas and Deborah's place of leadership. Thomas left his house except for the "west" room to his widow. And that daughter soon to be the wife of schoolteacher Benjamin Coffin recieved the west room. Very possibly she eventually got the whole property. She and her sisters each recieved one cow

commons and $1,500.00 from their father. Thomas' lands went to his sons excepting one quarter which went to his wife. Each child got ¼ acre of land in fee simple. Three items were evaluated: oxen, sheep and cash at hand. Five oxen came to $1,528.80 or 305.75 per ox. 109 sheep amounted to $1,738.00 or $15.95 per sheep, which seems a reasonable figure. Cash amounted to $1,977.80 and was held in Nathaniel Macy's Counting House, recently established. Nathaniel was a grandson of Thomas and Deborah and nephew of Jonathan, who by 1760 was Nantucket's representative at New England Yearly Meeting. Only Richard Macy of the original four brothers and four sisters was left in the meeting.

The Swain clan played so minor a role in these years that it is difficult to discover whether on not they were buffoonish and greedy. One married a Vineyarder out of meeting in 1759. A few months before that happened Seth Swain's young widow died. A second death occurred in 1762 when Silvanus Swain, son of Caleb, left a young widow. A third death occurred in 1763, when another son of Caleb was taken. One Swain in need of financial aid was granted $12.50 new tenor by Jonathan Macy, the new treasurer in 1762. Otherwise the record is blank.

The Barnards were gentlefolk, and influential no doubt. One married in 1759, another in 1761, and still another in 1762. Matthew Barnard, cousin to the Macys, died in 1761 and was the first Friend to be buried in the Saratoga St. (Quaker Lane) Burial Ground, which stood next to the Great Meetinghouse. Altogether only about 30 Friends were interred in that piece of ground by 1760, and possibly 20 others who were sympathetic to Friends. The old acre of ground acquired in 1709, where the first meetinghouse burned contains about 465 graves, including about 190 non-Friends, and a fair number of little babies. One of the first Friends to be buried in the new yard was Judith Wilcox, who had been so intimately connected with the Barnard family. Her death in 1761 removed the last effective check upon her granddaughter

the smuggler. Judith left Peter Barnard, her ablest son, her Bible and skillet. A little money went to her other heirs, except that her home and its furnishings went to her son John Wilcox. Incidentally Peter Barnard lost his dwelling house by fire in 1762. It must have been an old lean-to house as its value was estimated at only $4,000.00. One of the Barnards was disowned from meeting. He was Robert Barnard Jr, nephew of Matthew, whose offence in 1760 was not minuted. It may be presumed that he had enlisted in the British navy which was tantamount to automatic exclusion. A few years later he married an off-islander, and was eventually drowned at sea during the American Revolution. During that war 46 Friends were disowned from Nantucket Meeting for warlike activity. In the other hand we find that Robert's brother Matthew Barnard was a strict consistent Friend, and named an additional overseer along with William Hussey in 1761. The Barnard wives played an important role during these years in the Friends Meeting on Nantucket. For instance the committee of Women's Visitors appointed in 1761 included minister Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard, Elder Robert's wife, Hephzibah (Coffin) Barnard, overseer Peter's wife, Anna (Starbuck) Barnard as well as two other women Friends, Priscilla (Coleman) Bunker, wife of Samuel, and Abigail (Starbuck) Howes Way, wife of John Way.

The Starbucks stood perhaps more vociferously than before upon their prerogatives, probably because of their declining influence. Minister William Starbuck died in 1761, aged 54, and within a few days was followed by his cousin Joseph Starbuck, aged 37, and wife Ruth (Mary) Starbuck, probably of such an epidemic as smallpox. The deaths of William and Joseph Starbuck removed valued leadership in Quaker and mercantile affairs respectively. William granted his house, half his sheep, half his cattle and half his whaling equipment to his wife Lydia. In 1761 she married Theophilus Pinkham, thus bringing Starbuck blood to another member of that family. The remainder of William's estate was divided among his heirs, except he left a lot upon which the Barker warehouse stood, to his daughter Anna (Starbuck) Barnard, Peter's wife. In that way she was assured a regular income. Joseph Starbuck,

listed as cordwainter in the Probate Book, left half his estate to his one son, and one quarter each to his two daughters. Their uncle Zaccheus Macy was named guardian for the children. Both estates were large when finally probated. William Starbuck's wealth lay mostly in Proprietory shares which aggregated $200,000.00/ Hay for his flocks alone was valued at $5,700.00. There were outstanding large debts, however, so that the total estate netted only $217,887.80. Very probably a large portion of the share of the Starbuck trust left the control of his widow and went into other Starbuck hands. The inventory of Josepph Starbuck's estate is more revealing. His Proprietory shares came only to $81,250.00, while he owned land at fee simple estimated at $29,250.00. His mansion was valued at $75,000.00 and his "calash" at $2,680.00. Two cows were worth $2,250.00 apiece. They must have been very superior animals. Joseph's horse went for $320.00, while 23 sheep were worth only $11.55 apiece. In the house a highboy was valued at $1,500.00 and a black walnut desk the same. Beds and quilting came to $3,600.00, and the silver was valued at $1,721.20. The total estate came to $287,907.40 which was considerably larger than the minister's property. Joseph Starbuck's was the most impressive estate evaluated in the town records up till 1763. One Starbuck married in 1761.

Finally last of the ditty names, we reach the clever Pinkhams, clever enough to marry the rich Starbucks as above noticed. In 1759 Shubael Pinkham lost his second wife Eunice aged 71. And Theophilus, his brother, lost his first wife Deborah, aged 50. And Shubael's namesake married a daughter of Elihu Coleman. Then by way of summary we find that the town fathers in 1763 included one Swain, Mays, four Barnards, two Starbucks and one Pinkham. Now it happened there were 75 whaling captains putting out from Nantucket in 1763, of whom 42 belonged to the 14 families of the rhyme as follows: 13 Folgers, 1 Coleman, 2 Husseys, 6 Coffins, 7 Gardners, 4 Barnards, 4 Starbucks, and 5 Pinkhams. In addition there were; 3 Bunkers, 2 Browns, 1 Chadwick, 1 Coggeshall, 1 Fitch, 3 Jenkins, 3 Myricks, 4 Mosers, 3 Paddocks, 1 Stratton, 4 Stantons, 2 Ways and 2 Worths. No more than half of these 75 were presumably members of the

Society of Friends. Membership in the meeting stood at 1,385 persons at General Meeting time in 1763 which implied an "occasional" attender population of perhaps 1,070. Thus 2400 of the 3,100 inhabitants were in some manner connected with the meeting. The Congregationalists probably numbered 300 in their membership with an attender group running 230 persons. Perhaps 115 were completely indifferent to religion. As is evident, actual Quaker membership included 45% of the island's white population, and the Quaker "parish" included 79% of the Sherburne Town. In 1765 the provincial census revealed Nantucket as being second to Suffolk county as the most thickly populated county per square mile in Massachusetts, and double the density of the third most thickly populated county. The total inhabitants than stood at 3417, including of course a few Indians. Total white inhabitants in 1764 were listed as 3,220 persons. Then the Friends Meeting stood well over 1400 members.

The other families than the fourteen celebrated in Phineas Fanning's verses next claim attention. The irregular Strattons did marry one son properly in meeting in 1758. But four years later his sister was whipped at the order of the court for having an illegitimate child. A non-Friend, a Bunker, was named as the father of the child. Also in the autumn of 1758 the Paddocks married, and soon thereafter a brother was drowned, aged 27. Another Paddock married in 1761. In 1762 another branch of the Paddocks sired a son, Obed Paddock, who when grown moved to Maine where he pioneered in distant Aroostook County, and left a ministerial memorial of note at his death. Returning to the autumn of 1758 we find one of the Clasbys marrying and another in 1762. One brother died in 1760, aged 23. Returning again to the autumn of 1758, we find one of the Cartwrights joining meeting by marriage. In the spring of 1759 Lionel Worth, son of Sarah Meade, who had married onto the island as an apprentice, moved to New Hampshire, married later in New York and eventually became a pioneer settler of Vermont. A cousin, another Worth, married in the autumn of 1759 and another in 1762. Early in 1763 Lydia (Gorham) Worth, sife of Josphe, died, aged 62, having been the first of a series of Gorham wives derived from the Yarmouth

Meeting on the Cape - all of them capable women giving much strength to the Nantucket meeting. No Stratton, Paddock, Clasby, Cartwright or Worth served as a town officer in 1763.

In the autumn of 1758 Matthew Jenkins, the founder of that family name on Nantucket, died aged 68. To Mary Jenkins his wife he gave half his house, and the use of the property till she died. Matthew's son Joseph was named eventually to get the property. His land he divided three ways among his three sons, and his personal property three ways among his daughters. The Jenkins wharf and warehouse went to the sons as well as his investment in Benjamin Coffin's new wheelhouse and his landing "stage" and fish house at Siasconset at the east end of the island. Quite a subsidiary village had grown up at the latter place where fall and spring fishing was centered. Mary Jenkins died in 1761, aged 75. A memorial for her was subsequently sent up to Newport. She also left a last will and testament in which she gave her daughter Sarah (Jenkins) Hussey ten sheep cpmmons. To her son Peter she gave the land whereon her home stood. It may be presumed that Joseph bought him out. The remainder of her property she shared equally among her heirs. There was one Jenkins among the town fathers in 1763. They were important in Quaker counsels. We find Joseph Jenkins appointed a visitor in 1759 in company with Jonathan Mory and William Rotch. One Jenkins married in 1761.

Again in the autumn of 1758 John Grimm, ne'er do well husband of Eunice (Russell) Grimm died. In 1761 she was granted $48.00 relief by the women's meeting. Subsequently Mary (Tibbetts) Barnard and Hephzibah Hussey were named a committee to enquire fully into Eunice's financial straits. And later that year Hephzibah Hussey saw that the widow got two free loads of firewood. The only similar case of aid granted by the women before 1763 involved $62.50 granted Dinah (Folger) Chase in 1762. As a final event during the autumn of 1758 there occurred the death of Judith Bunker, 33 year old widow of Peter, lost at sea three years before. As he had died intestate

the courts settled the double estate. It was not large, coming only to $3,326.80, and Christopher Starbuck extended a note for $1,000.00 to tide over the children during their minority. One Bunker was married in 1760. Soon thereafter Abishai Bunker, son of Samuel, died leaving as widow his second wife. A year later she took a second husband out of meeting. Abishai Bunker left an estate worth $28,164.80 though he was but 27 years of age. Included was land valued at $5,326.80 and a small house listed at $3,400.00. Abishai's mother Priscilla Bunker, already a "visitor", was one of the first Nantucket Friends officially named "overseer" in 1762. Two Bunkers served the town in 1763. As for the Jays they contributed two sons who were married in 1759 and 1761. Like the Gardners they were absent from public life.

A new family was represented by Richard Chadwick who married into the meeting in 1759. Then Zaccheus Howes, aged 33, was lost at sea, following upon a tradition of drowning long established in that family. His widow did not remarry. Zaccheus' grandmother Abigail (Hussey) Howes-Marshall, widow of the one-time clerk, and daughter of Stephen Hussey, died in 1763. Though not a Friend her life was lived in close juxtaposition to the Society. She gave her Quaker son Joseph Marshall Jr. most of her estate, while Zaccheus Howes' heirs were to receive a third of her land. Her silver and Jewelry she bequeathed carefully to non-Quaker descendants.

Death came for Elizabeth (Beard) Waterman aged but 24 in 1759. And three years later followed an impossible marital situation involving her widower and her sister, Mary, to be treated later. Another new name met with in meeting affairs was William Black. One quarter native islander, he became a Friend by marrying a hitherto non-Quaker Folger in 1760. And in 1761 one of Thomas Clarke's descendants by the same name married into the meeting. The Pollards during these years became steadily more influential in meeting matters, as the activities of Mehitabel certainly suggest. And when Joseph Marshall Jr. became clerk the place he resigned on the overseers' committee was filled by Philip Pollard in 1761. No Chadwick, Howes, Marshall, Waterman, Black or Pollard was to be found among the town officers in 1763. There were, however, several serving two Clarks.

In the summer of 1761 Joseph Marshall Jr., the new clerk, was directed to write a minute of transfer for Benjamin and Hannah (Gardner) Taber to remove within the jurisdiction of Dartmouth M.M., from which he had come to marry Barnabas Gardner's daughter three years before. It is just possible that the couple involved were moving to New Dartmouth in Nova Scotia. Just at this time it was decided that Fifth-day meeting should gather at 11:A.M. rather than at noon, and the Preparative Meeting gather a week early in sixth month, so as not to take up time during the General Meeting, though in 1762 the older method was followed once again. The change was characteristic of the transition period. Also just at this time Jonathan Macy replaced Benjamin Barney as monthly meeting treasurer. Despite the burden of enlarging the meetinghouse undertaken in 1761-62, gifts were sent off to help another meeting with its construction project. $360.00 was sent to Boston in 1760. A year later another $240.00 was dispatched toward the same end. Fortunately we have the quota of funds assessed from Nantucket by Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting in 1761. The figure comes to $218.75 in new tenor currency. At this rate of taxation, it appears that the Quarterly Meeting levied $2,205.02 in the form of meeting tax from its constituent bodies. Probably the Yearly Meeting assessment against the Quarterly Meeting was not much larger.

In the autumn of 1761 a hitherto non-Quaker Allen became a Friend by marrying a Macy. Then two new family names appeared. A William Ellis entered the meeting by marrying a non-Quaker Trott, and Jonathan Gorham Fitch by marrying a Quaker Gardner. This young man, half islander, was the first Nantucket Friend to carry a middle name and in his case appropriately the name was Gorham. So many strong Gorham women had married onto the island from Cape Cod that the name was entirely suitable. A second Fitch, a cousin, became a Friend in 1762 by marrying a hitherto non-Quaker Gardner. When Ellis and Fitch became Quaker names on Nantucket the town was busy building the jetties to insure a deep passage into the harbor. A beacon light was to be maintained at their outermost extension. Christopher Hussey, Robert Barker and Nathaniel Hussey, all of them Friends, were put in charge. A year before a North Carolina sloop of 85 tons' burden had had to be abandoned on the treacherous

bar just outside the harbor, and that year another sloop loaded with flour had broken up this side of Great Point, one boy being drowned. Renewed interest in watchfulness had resulted in the appointment of four new nightwatchmen, one of whom, Thomas Macy, was a Friend. Incidentally, two of the three fire-wardens, who were also "watchers" during the daytime, were Joseph Rotch and Richard Coffin. A new fire engine was on hand by Yearly Meeting time in 1763. There was much to watch out for as 78 whaling vessels put out of Nantucket harbor in 1762, bringing in 9,340 barrels of whale oil. The following year 60 alone of these vessels brought in 9,238 Barrels, having wandered as far afield as the African Guinea Coast. 5030 tons of whale oil were exported to London in that year, while a complaint was registered with the Massachusetts General Court and then with the Crown, that fishermen were excluding whalers from the Newfoundland seas. The story behind this friction had to do with the rise of the Massachusetts cod fishing. The Seven Years' War had so abated that the Massachusetts ships were involved in 1761. A year later the number had proliferated to 50 such sloops. In another year 80 or so sail darkened the Newfoundland banks. That year some 50 boats put out from Providence, while Newport, the greatest center of New England trade, listed 185 vessels, only 20 of which were still involved in the slave trade. And in 1762 two packet lines connecting Newport with New York had come into being. Nantucket's proportion of New England trade was impressive.

Early in 1763 occurred a wedding joining Newport to Nantucket in a significant way. One of the Jenkins girls married a nephew of Benjamin Barney. The couple went to live in one of the great Newport Quaker mansions. A short time afterwards an Alexander Moores joined the Nantucket Meeting by marrying a Macy. The Moores were wealthy newcomers to Nantucket. A third wedding involving off-islanders occurred still later that spring when Thomas Smith of that able Dartmouth family married Anne (Starbuck) Pinkham, widow of Reuben. They removed next to New York. By way of comparison in the line of marriages, we find that Philadelphia M.M. performed only 189 marriages

between 1743 and 1763. Nantucket handled 220. Evidently Nantucket meeting was growing more rapidly than was the Quaker group at the heart of the Holy Experiment. On the other hand the Philadelphia group was probably half again or perhaps twice as large as the Nantucket Society. And finally in the way of family changes there occurred ~~xxiii~~ in the spring of 1763 the death of Paul Way, aged 30, at sea. As far as public service was concerned, there were no Ellises, no Fitches, no Moores and but one Allen in the town government of 1763. We note here in concluding family data the estate of Damaris (Gayer) Coffin, the last of her family, an ancient widow who died in 1764. Three items were evaluated as follows: Bible $150.00; clock $240.00, and silver tankards $637.60.

Attention should now be drawn to some of the dozen or so important visitors who enlivened the Nantucket scene in these years from 1758 to 1763. The Society which they represented, at least in the colonies, was in process of rapid expansion. A Quarterly Meeting appeared in 1759 in Piedmont N.CAROLINA, the region which was destined to receive about a hundred Nantucket Quakers between 1771 and 1775. Already a great Baptist revival was sweeping through Piedmont, North Carolina. Four new monthly meetings appeared in America, while two were discontinued near the coast. One of the new meetings embraced settlements in the District of Maine and was known as Yarmouth M.M., set off from Dover ~~Nantucket~~ M.M. New England herself had undergone a marked revival in the Congregational church, which had established fifty new parishes between 1740 and 1760, numbering 530 churches at the latter date. The first Quaker of significance to visit Nantucket in this period was Elizabeth Smith, 1724-1772, "~~xx~~ a valued minister" and daughter of Rep. Richard Smith, himself a visitor of Nantucket some time before. She was present ~~x~~ in 1759 to hear read the Epistle written at her home town of Burlington, N.J., earlier that year, and also the 1759 London epistle, both advising on the subject of war. New York and New England Epistles were also heard. Later that year arrived another Friend, Isaac Andrews, who had been born into Burlington M.M., but was currently a member of

Evesham M.M., N.J., after an appreciceship in Philadelphia. He accompanied William Foster, the founder of Evesham M.M., its clerk and first minister. Upon their return to the middle colonies Isaac Andrews and William Foster sent a letter of spiritual concern which was read in meeting. This was in 1760 when Philip Pollard was asked to read the message at the following First-day meeting. The 1760 Philadelphia epistle had accompanied their letter. Directly after their visit, Joseph Jenkins, Jonathan Macy and William Rotch were made overseers. The New Jersey Friends no doubt played some role in the tightening policy of the discipline then evident on the island.

1760 was the year in which Boston first protested the Writs of Assistance, which were customarily issued at the opening of the reign of a new king. The argument went that a man's house was his castle, though in effect the colonists were seeking ways to secure smuggled goods. Quakers, however, were generally so uneasy over the evil of smuggling that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1759 inveighed against the molasses trade altogether. A general trend against taking chances was observable when lotteries were authorized in Massachusetts by the General Court in 1765. On the other hand the colony suffered from the incompetent maladministration of Sir Francis Barnard, who headed the Boston government from 1760 to 1769, after a poor showing in New Jersey. The fashionable inclination of the governor may account for the opening of a theatre in staid Boston in 1760. 1760 brought to Nantucket Hannah (Core) Foster, wife of Evesham's founder. Her companion was Elizabeth Shipley of Wilmington, Del., M.M., a powerful minister, native of Springfield, Penna., and visitor to the West Indies with Jane Fenn in 1725 and to Europe in 1743. She died in 1777 at Marlborough, part of Kennett M.M. They were present at another orgy of epistle reading.

The next year Samuel Nottingham, a frequent visitor, returned bearing a minute from Fat Hog Bay M.M., Tortola, in the West Indies. His companion was the same Henry Stanton of Coresound M.M., N.C., who had run into misfortune a generation before when he tried to interest Nantucketers in settling the Cape Fear region. Perhaps Henry Stanton left the following account:

"Here we have not but those which administer to the useful, to the necessary

and to the indispensable comforts of life. The inhabitants abhor the very idea of expending in useless waste and vain luxuries, the fruits of prosperous labor. At home the tender minds of the children must early be struck with the gravity, the serious, though cheerful department of their parents; they are inured to a principle of subordination, arising neither from passions nor inconsistent pleasures. They are corrected with tenderness, nursed with most affectionate care, clad with that decent plainness from which they observe their parents never to depart; in short, by the force of example, more than by precept, they learn to follow the steps of their parents and to despise ostentatiousness as being sinful. They acquire a taste for that neatness for which their fathers are conspicuous; they learn to be prudent and saving; the very tone of voice in which they are addressed establishes them in that softness of diction which ever becomes habitual. If they are left with fortunes, they know how to save them, and how to enjoy them with moderation and decency. If they have none, they know how to venture, how to work and toil as their parents have done before them. As the sea excursions are often very long, the wives are necessarily obliged to transact business, to settle accounts, and, in short, to rule and provide for their families. These circumstances being oft repeated, give women the ability, as well as the taste, for that kind of superintendency which, by their prudence and good management, they seem to be in a general way equal. This refines their judgment and justle entitles them to a rank superior to other wives."

[I SHOULD INDENT SINGLE SPACE ABOVE QUOTATION]

~~and to the indispensable comforts of life... superior to other~~

Yet the economic situation on the island was soon to encourage widespread emigration. Crevecoeur notes this in his book, foreshadowed by the jolly form of brief excursions in the form of picnics to Polpis , the South Shore and elsewhere. Even there Crevecoeur observed that the men were frequently busy at whittling, though ostensibly relaxing. A manuscript dating from 1806 notes that Nantucket contained 27,000 acres or 42 square miles: that the acreage was divided as follows: 14,600 pasturage, 3,375 unimprovable, 1150 salt swamplands, 140 salt marshes, 3350 farmland, 650 in hay, 1350 settled and 300 in roads. No doubt conditions were reasonably the same 50 years earlier, especially the yellow sand which was considered perfect for coopering oil casks.

In 1762 Jonathan Hoag, husband of Comfort, the famous minister, was on Nantucket and granted a returning minute. The meeting had just finished its annual round-up of epistles, directing that that from London be read in the First-day meeting. Queries were then read and answered "agreable to the sense of the meeting", a phrase used then on Nantucket for the first time. A year later the procedure had hardened into custom.

In 1763 the population of Massachusetts had risen to 222,550 persons who lived in 186 townships, an increase of a hundred such since 1700. 21,450 of these people lived in the district of Maine. Over one and three quarter million people lived in the colonies altogether. And at least in one thing by 1763 they were all united. They wanted no Anglican bishop. In a year or so the cry "no taxation without representation" was to provide a broader base for colonial unity. Friends would tend to be loyalists, not only from peaceable inclination, but because many were rich. The nominal Friend was common in Philadelphia by 1763. At least two-thirds of the unofficial social register of Pennsylvania was composed of Quakers. John Adams complained of their epicurean "sinful" feasts. Men like Anthony Morris left half a million, while others in the class of Israel Pemberton were worth well over a million. Allied with the Franklins of New York and the Redwoods of Newport, the Philadelphia Quakers was a

colonial aristocrat without peer. The boats carrying the tea belonged to William Rotch; notwithstanding the first man to throw tea overboard at the Boston tea party was a Nantucket Quaker.

Very little of the actual commercial transactions between Nantucket and Newport during this period have been preserved. Aaron Lopez and his brother Moses appear to have been increasingly active, not always to the satisfaction of Nantucketers. In 1762 for instance two Friends, Thomas Bunker and Joseph Swain, complained that the Lopez speculation in their whale oil brought them a loss. A little later Capt. Tristram Coffin of Edgartown sent the Lopez firm 26 Barrels of oil only to receive inferior tobacco in return. At least we learn that Nantucket Quakers smoked. Outfitting of sloops, always an interesting proposition, received valuable treatment in the account book of the young Stephen Hussey (1761-1781). He records a sloop costing $19,682.40 in 1716 while in 1760 such a vessel ran $324,230,00, though the currency may well have been inflated at that point. By that time two-thirds of all British colonial trade centered north of Maryland. A sizeable share of that trade derived from Nantucket. And when all is said and done it was a trade built upon the suffering and death of great ocean animals. "We soon made her Spout Blood but she was a Long Time a Dying" wrote one whaler of one whale. No doubt the dichotomy between the peaceable kingdom of Quakerism and the brutal life of survival on the sea wrought its psychic damage to the Society of Friends on Nantucket. Perhaps the above quotation is not inappropriate to be applied to the state of Quakerism on Nantucket itself in 1763.

In 1762 New England Yearly Meeting adopted a new Book of Discipline. It was largely transcribed from an English prototype. Nevertheless a brief survey of the chronological order of the concerns expressed in this book serves in a very real sense as a barometer of the Nantucket Meeting in 1763, and forms a good conclusion for this chapter. The earliest date appears to be 1672, the year George Fox preached in Newport. It was then advised that lists of Friends suffering for the sake of conscience be kept. Representatives to superior meetings were instituted that year as a procedural form. Then in 1675 Friends

were advised to disuse all titles to people of "class", despite imprisonment for such egalitarian action. Nor were Friends to go to law over such or other sufferings. The Book of Discipline itself was then first drawn up and also standards for Friends' marriages. An advice which was given to stay within reasonable bounds in business reveals the appearance of the successful Quaker business man. On the other hand, an advice that singing in meeting must be inspired strikes us as rather unusual, though not inconsistent. In 1676 it was advised that all meetings keep accurate records. And the advice concerning business was strengthened by a warning against covetousness.

In 1680 censorship over Quaker books was established by the Meeting for Sufferings. And in 1682 correspondents for each meeting were ordered named. This was the year in which the first three queries were written and directed to be answered. In 1684 a basis for arbitration in place of legal action was attributed to Matthew 18 - 15, 16, 17. In 1688 the scriptural injunction was broadened to include the bringing up children out of the fashion of the world. And in 1689 an exhortation was made to condemn unauthorized ministry. Talebearing and backbiting were specifically condemned.

In 1690 courtesy to magistrates was again specifically condemned. In 1691 an advice was given to observe no holidays. And perhaps because of the added danger of being different, it was advised that Friends prepare their wills ahead of time. In 1672 disownment was named as the specific punishment for Friends who refused to arbitrate disputes, while strict payment of debts was injoined. 1693 witnessed Friends condemning carrying guns on board Quaker vessels, while oaths were specifically proscribed. An advice was given that the poor be looked after, but that no parish rates or taxes should be paid by Quakers. In 1695 the setting up of Quaker schools was encouraged and the next year the queries were enlarged from four to eight. In 1697 the method for chosing arbitrators of disagreements between or among Friends was outlined. Care was also advised that Friends avoid the pagan names of days and months. And in 1698 smuggling was attacked as anti-Christian.

In 1701 the queries were advanced to fourteen in number, and incidentally these were

accepted by New England Yearly Meeting in 1708. In 1703 the query on the advices was put into practice in England, with many specific suggestions concerning the manner of conducting meetings for worship and business. Also it was directed that the Elders should have charge of the execution of the Discipline. It was advised that titles to meetinghouses be secured, and that Friends' servants be raised within the meeting. In 1706 it was decreed that guardians should be appointed to bring up Friends' children in strict simplicity, and advised that Bible reading should be followed in Quaker homes. It was further minuted that Quaker books should be distributed widely among the membership, in 1708 family visits on the part of ministers and elders were encouraged.

The major part of the pattern had been solidified in the generation between 1675 and 1705. There were some subsequent developments, however. In 1717 all tombstones were ordered taken down, and mourning specifically outlawed. In 1718 bowing to people of class was underlined as evil. And an advice against elaborate weddings was issued. Defamation of character was made a specifically disavowable offense.

In 1720 arrangement was made for appeals from monthly to Quarterly meeting. A Query was introduced enquiring how the poor were cared for. Romances, novels and plays were directly banned. In 1723 another Query was added to inquire if Friends had defrauded the King, thus to strengthen their sentiments against smuggling. A third additional Query in 1725 asked Friends to list convinced persons. And in 1727 the regularization of the appeal system was worked out. In 1731 an advice was given that Friends give no offense in eating and drinking and patronizing inns of bad repute. Then it was discovered that too many appeals came forward, so that in 1736 appeals to Yearly Meeting were discouraged. And in 1737 it was advised that Friends secure certificates of removal when changing from one part of the country to another.

In 1741 it was decreed that Friends deal with those who participated in non-Quaker weddings. In 1742 London Friends drew up a completely new list of Queries, which apparently were never operative in New England. There seems generally to have been a lag in changing the New England Discipline in the years from 1710 to 1760. The new

London Queries of 1742 dealt with concerns in this order: Prisoners listed; prisoners listed discharged; prisoners listed dead; care of meetings and meetinghouses; ministers listed dead; state of meeting spiritually; care of children; clearness against tithes and armed services; clearness of defrauding King; care of poor; and care of meeting records.

The foregoing outline of subjects was compiled in 1756 in England with new queries for both regular and select meetings, and with a new zeal for uniformity. When the book was copied in New England, the new queries were left out as New England wrote her own new questions, which questions have been scrutinized in an earlier chapter.

In 1761 the following New England additions were made; it was decreed that Preparative Meetings were to handle requests for membership, which function was to be overseen by the elders. And Friends were asked to be clear of the trade in slaves. The foregoing evolution reflects the basic trends of the Society in the old colonial period of American history. And by 1763 the Society in New England was in line with the mother body across the Atlantic.

CHAPTER 16

An Epoch Achieves its Completion

1758-1763

"My Sins are like the Sands upon the Shore
Which every ebb, lays open to the Eye
In this they differ; those are covered o'er
But, ah, my Sins in View Still open lie
Lord if Thou make my Head a Sea of Tears
Oh! that would wash away the Sins of all my Years."

Fruits of reflection in a quiet hour, while on a whaling voyage, these poignant lines catch the insight of a Nantucketer far from his loved home. Their author, Peleg Folger, though not a member of meeting knew full well that pride of spirit had reaped a bitter harvest on the little island. And perhaps unlike others he passionately desired heart-broken humility, as the one surely creative response left possible. Peleg wrote with almost prophetic clarity, for the high-handed approach of the dominant minority in the meeting was soon to lie as open to the eye as the sands at ebb tide.

Our first contemporary view of the situation on Nantucket in 1758 is supplied by one William Rickett (1706-1769) of Lincolnshire in old England, who spent a week in the autumn on the island "finding the true seed, or life of religion, suffering much by reasons of divisions." In fact he was more favorably impressed with the quality of the worship of the Indians, when he sat in the body of their meeting, than he was with the spirituality of the Society of Friends, whose meetinghouse gallery he graced. Of course it may have been the Indians were especially responsive in that year of 1758, as Indian complaints regarding land titles which had increased in the decade of the Seven Years War, reached a dramatic peak in the great Indian Title Case held by adjournments during the winter of 1757-1758 in the Friends Meetinghouse. Fortunately the decisions there reached went far to settle the great unrest over white encroachments on Indian properties. Actually the Indian troubles

were liquidated very largely in the winter of 1763-1764 when typhus or some such epidemic swept away 222 of the 358 members of the Nantucket Indian community. The remnant, broken in spirit, intermarried with negroes and "canakas", i.e. south sea islanders, have left scarce a descendant on the island today. One keeps the impression that Nantucket Quakerism never rose to its challenge in regard to the aboriginal inhabitants.

But to return for a final word concerning William Reckitt. He was carried back to the mainland by Captain William Hussey, the consistent Friend distrained for refusing to pay the soldiers tax. William was a grandson of Nanthaniel Starbuck the patriarch and married to a daughter of Paul Starbuck, the caretaker. Such being the case his convictions appear to have come from the distaff side of the house. At any rate Captain Hussey got William Reckitt to the fall session of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting held in the new and still standing Apponegansett Meetinghouse. Apparently there had been demands for the Quarterly Meeting to move eastward for one session, to accommodate Friends of the Bay and Islands region. Reckitt resembled a sort of expurgated Candide in his adventures to and from America. En Route, he had been captured by the French, stripped and searched, kept incommunicado. Thereafter followed a whole series of untoward incidents with prostitutes, priests, andother miscellaneous persons. The six months delay resulted in a fresh start from England for the colonies. And to cap his journey home in 1760, he was again taken by a French privateer. We may wonder how much of his experience he repeated to Captain William Hussey and others. Diverting as such speculation may be, the more serious import of William Reckitt's visit was his notation of unsettled conditions evident on the island. The reflections were accurate. And the Commons situation was about to burst upon the

island again with unexpected violence in the spring of 1759. The bombshell was hurled in the form of a Quaker "papal bull" by the London meeting for Sufferings which had under its care the report delivered to it by London Yearly Meeting in 1758.

Nantucket got wind of the document when the spring Quarterly Meeting epistle noted that advice on the Commons Case had been received, and the monthly meeting on the island received a specific request from Newport to prepare a new dossier, to help with the final disposition of the case. For the moment the request was ignored. When the Yearly Meeting gathered in Newport two months later, the document from the meeting for Sufferings was produced. It was read on Second-day afternoon and a weighty committee of seven Friends was named to carry the unexpected advice to the summer Quarterly Meeting, along with the Yearly Meeting epistle which incorporated the gist of the opinion of the Meeting for Sufferings. New England Yearly Meeting then asked that a letter be sent to London Friends to thank them for their counsel. All the foregoing was reported in person to Nantucket Monthly Meeting by John Casey, then clerk of New England Yearly Meeting, who attended the General Meeting in 1759 with that specific purpose in mind. Ironically Casey's companion was Stephen Wilcox, Jr., son of the Nantucket Friend whom the Starbucks had silenced many years before. Apparently no Nantucket Friends attended the 1759 Yearly Meeting in Newport.

Casey's report gave ground for grave uneasiness on the island. Two months late, pursuant to the advice of Quarterly Meeting, a new committee was then and there appointed to look into the "matter of Differance Subsisting amongst us from the Foundation," which "foundation" of course had reference to the settling of the island in 1661 and the Coffin deed of 1664. Silvanus Hussey was named chairman of the new committe.

His associates included all viewpoints: Jethro Folger, Barnabas Gardner, Elihu Coleman, Joseph Marshall, Barnabas Coleman, Richard Macy, Benjamin Barney, and naturally David Gardner. These Friends were directed to get the matter in hand and to produce a reasonable presentation of it to the summer Quarterly Meeting to which the Yearly Meeting Committee was likewise converging. To offer guidance at this juncture there appeared another English Friend, one John Storer, of Nottingham Monthly Meeting (1725-1795), convinced in 1748 from the Anglican Church and from a very gay manner of life. It was said he was "often enable to preach the Gospel in a clear, lively and powerful manner," quality much needed at this point.

A month later the Nantucket Committee reported back to the island concerning the involved Quarterly Meeting sessions just concluded at Newport. All the committee had attended except Barnabas Gardner, and it may be presumed business had prevented his leaving the island. In his place, at it were, the Nantucket Committee brought back with them the Yearly Meeting Clerk, John Casey, who was in a position to corroborate or to revise their reporting. He had unpleasant duties to perform himself on Nantucket as subsequent events will show. To strengthen his hand and to corroborate his report back to the fall Quarterly Meeting Casey had brought along Peter Davis of Westerly. Both men had known the earlier phases of the controversy intimately. And the English Friends who had thrust the Quaker bull into the Commons situation were represented by Mary (Ransome) Kirby (1709-1779) of Walsham Monthly Meeting in Norwich Quarterly Meeting, whose minute endorsed by the London Morning Meeting gave her access to the men's meeting on Nantucket, where she preached on the importance of preserving poverty of spirit.

The stage having been set to receive the report, we should now trace step by step the tortuous maze of the prolonged sessions of Rhode

Island Quarterly Meeting as they were reported back to Nantucket Monthly Meeting. As far as is known no Quarterly Meeting in the history of the Society of Friends ever met for so many sittings over so long a period time. At the outset two somewhat inconsequential steps were taken before attention was directed to the main piece of business at hand. First the chairman of the Nantucket Committee Captain Silvanus Hussey was recognized in his appointment as an elder of Nantucket Meeting. Second, and following upon that gracious gesture, the Quarterly Meeting took advantage of the large Nantucket representation to scold the island meeting for carelessness in its query answering.

Then the Yearly Meeting Committee of Seven was received. Its personnel was impressive. The chairman was very naturally and sensibly none other than Jacob Mott, Jr., who had first appeared in the ministry on the island of Nantucket in 1702 and whose family nurtured Nantucket Meeting into being. To assist him were James Easton of that gubernatorial family. Daniel Southwick, kin of the Allens, Abraham Barker who had served on the earlier Quarterly Meeting Committee, Humphrey Smith, perhaps from the north shore, Joseph Tucker of Dartmouth and Jonathan Harris, of parts unknown. After the Yearly Meeting committee delivered their report, the Quarterly Meeting requested them to continue to sit with the Nantucket Committee in order to work out some sort of modus vivendi. Added to the Yearly Meeting Committee at this time were two Quarterly Meeting Friends: John Collins of Westerly who was known widely for his view that for the sake of consistency Friends should have withdrawn from Rhode Island politics; and Benjamin Arnold, a good balance to Collins, as his family were the most politically active Quaker family in the colony. The Quaker bull from London which required such expert handling contained the startling dictum that no disciplinary offense had been incurred by those Friends who were shut out of the

Commons and had gone to law with the Proprietary. In other words the disowning of William Russell, Samuel Bunker and Peleg Gardner had been carried out contrary to the better judgment of the meeting for Sufferings and London Yearly Meeting. No wonder it was felt necessary to adjourn that first session of Quarterly Meeting before any discussion could take place, leaving time only to recognize the ubiquitous Mary Kirby, who two weeks later sailed to Nantucket to hear the matter discussed again at the home base.

The meeting gathered the next day, but not until very thorough conference work was undertaken jointly by the Nantucket and Yearly-Quarterly Meeting Committees. The upshot of the second session was the unexpected protest of Richard Macy, Benjamin Barney, and of all people David Gardner, at the solution, submitted by the joint committee. Apparently that solution included a valiant attempt on the part of most of those concerned, to preserve as nearly as possible the original judgment of Nantucket Monthly Meeting, and to include subsidiary matters which confused the main issue. In face of this new disunity the Quarterly Meeting adjourned till evening. Once again the meeting gathered, only to engage in fruitless argument, and to separate in further useless turmoil.

The fourth business session met on the morrow only to rise in still fuller disagreement. This time, however, a new Quarterly Meeting Committee was named to meet separately from the Nantucket Committee to produce a newly worded document. Joseph Jacob of Newport, treasurer of the Quarterly Meeting was named chairman. To assist him in his ticklish assignment were nominated James Chase of Swansea, James Green of Greenwich, Nathan Davis of Dartmouth, Stephen Hoxie of Smithfield, Thomas Williams of South Kingston, Joseph Irish of Tiverton, Timothy Davis, old friend of Nantucket from Dartmouth, perhaps the outstanding

figure in the group, and Joseph Congdom, of Newport, after 1761 clerk of New England Yearly Meeting. What they did was to outline a new judgment which was corroborative of the decision of the meeting for Sufferings, and the sentiments of the Epistle of New England Yearly Meeting, which had just been issued regarding the Commons situation. In the fifth business session, which met the evening of the third day, forty hours after the Quarterly Meeting first assembled, it was finally agreed that the meeting would accept the first paragraph of the original conference report to which Macy, Barney and Gardner had objections, and append to this paragraph the new Quarterly Meeting Committee report. Then to insure that the compromise judgment receive proper consideration on Nantucket, to which meeting the report was addressed, John Casey was named to convey the data in person. As a committe to assist John Casey, and to insure over the next few months that the Quarterly Meeting judgment was executed, the following were named: Benjamin Buffington of Swansea, a frequent so-journer on Nantucket, Nathaniel Green, Sr., father of the well-known Revolutionary War general, Isaac Lawton of parts unknown, Thomas Hazard, probably the Friend of anti-slavery fame, Peter Davis, who actually accompanied Casey to the island two weeks later, Paul Osborn of Swansea, Christopher Townshend, a frequent visitor, and Peter Barker, kin of the Nantucket Barkers. The actual engrossing of the compromise report was left to Benjamin Buffington and David Earle, then clerk of the Quarterly Meeting.

The finally worded document, which can be appropriately called the Buffington Report followed closely the division into two parts which revealed its dual origin. Both parts are unnecessarily complex, involving more subjects than that of the Commons proper. A brief survey of the remarkable Buffington Report is now in order. Part one section one consists of a demand made by the Quarterly Meeting upon Nantucket

Monthly Meeting to procure apologies from all the Friends on Nantucket who had refused to rise to their feet or to remove their hats when Elihu Coleman engaged in prayer. Standing uncovered while the supplicant kneels was considered good Quaker etiquette. Not so to act was tantamount to stating one did not regard the prayer as divinely inspired. Among those who had "insulted" the presiding officer of Nantucket's Select Meeting was none other than Richard Macy. No wonder he led the objection to the original joint committee report. Now apparently he was to swallow his pride. And later he was the most prominent among those who were required to make public apologies. Part one section one of the Buffington Report was balm for the wounded pride of the dominant minority. Part one, section two, stated categorically that all those who had paid war taxes on Nantucket had acted inconsistently with Friends' principles. Here was a sop cast over to Richard Macy and others, who though critical of the Proprietary, yet had been clear in their anti-war testimony. Part one, section three, of the Buffington report declared that it was the Quarterly Meeting judgment that it was not expedient for Nantucket Monthly Meeting to determine the rights or titles of land ownership and usage. Apparently London had issued a strong statement in the form of moral condemnation concerning spurious judgment in spiritual matters. But that condemnation as handled by the original joint committee had dwindled in stature, till it assumed in the final report only the proportions of intellectual criticism of merely inappropriate policy. The attenuating of the gravity of the error on the part of the dominant minority gives evidence of the pro-Starbuck bias of most of the members of the joint committee. No wonder Macy, Barney, and even Gardner had protested.

Section two, part one, of the Buffington report consisted of an innocuous advice that tenderness be exercised towards the large majority

on Nantucket who had paid their war taxes, though the Quarterly Meeting hastened to state its opposition to such payment. Apparently the indecision and qualms so evident two years before were forgotten. Section two, part two, contained a brief historical sketch of the Commons Case till that point, how advice was requested from London, via New England Yearly Meeting, and how London had responded with the dictum that Nantucket Monthly Meeting had no proper jurisdiction in such a legal disagreement. Consequently the Quarterly Meeting now formally requested Nantucket Monthly Meeting to concern itself no more in the business of the Commons. Inexpediency had grown to the proportions of condemnation. Finally section two, part three of the Buffington report recommended that the Quarterly Meeting name a committee to carry the compromise report as approved to Nantucket, with power to insure that the policies formulated be carried out. Already section two, part three had been executed by the appointment of John Casey and his associates. An appendix to the Buffington report included the names of those who had drawn up Section two, namely the second Quarterly Meeting Committee: Joseph Jacob and others. A second appendix to the Buffington Report was added by the Quarterly Meeting at the time of its approval. This appendix consisted of an explicit injunction laid upon John Casey's committee, that they see to it immediately that Nantucket Monthly Meeting procure self-condemnations from Richard Macy, Benjamin Barney and David Gardner for their refusal to remove their hats when Elihu Coleman had engaged in prayer during the current sessions of the Quarterly Meeting. Apparently David Gardner had vacillated back into his original anti-Starbuck position. As for Benjamin Barney, that merchant, though married to a Starbuck, had been raised in cosmopolitan Newport, where he kept up strong commercial ties. From his vantagepoint independence of island

interests was easier for him than for others. Richard Macy was a man of transparent character and crystal-clear integrity.

What was the inner meaning of the turbulence and judgment of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting that summer of 1759? In the first place although the action of Nantucket Meeting in disowning three Friends who persisted in using the commons illegally, was by influence invalidated, still no specific request was made for that action to be declared null and void. Rather the Quarterly Meeting lent its influence sympathetically to the leaders of the Starbuck trust who managed to manuever their opponents into the embarrassing position of being forced to produce specific apologies for discurtesies to one of their chief spokesmen. And then the whole matter was muddied, by the Quarterly Meeting blowing both hot and cold in the matter of war tax payments, an issue dead except in the minds of those who were critical of each other for whatever course each had followed. As Elihu Coleman's name did not appear among those suffering tax distraints, it is possible to suggest he may have been spokesman for those who felt free to pay their war taxes. If this was the case, Richard Macy, spiritual giant though he was, suffered a double humiliation, for he must needs apologize for not sensing the divine as channeled through Elihu, and he must also be tender toward him, though Elihu probably justified paying the soldiers tax. Apparently Richard Macy was willing for his head to be a sea of tears that 30th of Seventh Month, when he and Benjamin Barney and David Gardner rose to express their sorrow at their sinful pride of spirit, as thus set the example for the others who should follow with more apologies in a month's time.

John Casey, Peter Davis and Mary Kirby sat through that solemn session, when the whirlwind which had been started on Nantucket then returned in its hurrican proportions. Little else is recorded as having been done. Friends needed time for the revolutionary impact of the report to sink in. Who had

really won the case? The Starbucks kept their pride, but they had to face the fact, that what they had solemnly pronounced to be divine judgment was only in reality their own very human and very, very faulty policy.

Two months later the greater proportion than the Quarterly Meeting visiting committee descended upon the island to determine whether or not the disciplinary advice had been carried out in spirit and in detail. Benjamin Buffington, the editor of the final draft of the report headed the group. With him was Paul Osborn, Christopher Townsend, Nathaniel Green and Thomas Hazard. It seems that Isaac Lawton and Peter Barker never fulfilled their committee assignments. The large committee apparently did not find things altogether satisfactory, for at the next monthly meeting who should have returned but our old Friend Mary Kirby who was by this time well initiated into the mysteries of Nantucket land quarrels. With her was Christopher Townshend, acting as delegate in turn for both Benjamin Buffington and John Casey. Nathaniel Green and Thomas Hazard were likewise on hand a second time in order to procure a definite answer from Nantucket Meeting in response to the recommendation delivered on the island three months before.

Indication that David Gardner had exerted his supple nature in such a way as to be fully acceptable again may be noted in his appointment along with with his old friend the schoolteacher Joseph Marshall to procure as many signatures as there were Friends willing to endorse the ministry, and in this case disciplinary activities, of our Friend Mary (Ransome) Kirby.

Eleventh Month 1759 rolled around, and Silvanus Hussey, now relieved of the clerkship by Benjamin Coffin appeared with his friend Jethro Coleman to report on the fall Quarterly Meeting, where were present both John Storer and Mary Kirby. First off the two Nantucketers had received another sound rap across the knuckles. Nantucket was as yet too careless in its query answering. And still the commons case hung fire. But on the last day of 1759 Nantucket

Monthly Meeting declared it was the "Mind of the Body of this Meeting" that the advice of Christopher Townsend and others, he having assumed chairmanship of the Quarterly Meeting Committee, be written in full into the monthly meeting minutes. As concomitant to such action Nantucket declared itself willing to accept the Yearly Meeting epistolary judgment that monthly meetings "meddle no more in such cases" as involved the Proprietary. And finally two minutes of the meeting were declared "Null & Void": namely that of the 29th of Seventh Month, 1754 censuring Friends for turning out their creatures upon the commons; and that of the 29th of Ninth Month, 1755 disowning Samuel Bunker, William Russell and Peleg Gardner. Four years afterwards the three expelled members found themselves perhaps half unwilling again, included in the roster of the Friends of Nantucket. So the wheel of fate had swung around the full circle of events. At least it was evident to the Proprietary that the Discipline of Friends Meeting was not a vehicle for perpetuating their temporal policies.

Unfortunately a blow had been struck at the vitals of the Friends Meeting on Nantucket, a wound which never really healed. The whole miserable conflict among those who valued this worlds' goods above the love of one another in the example of Jesus, constituted a deathly wound in the sense that a fatal weakness was created from which grew cancerous tissue in later generations. To adopt the terminology of Arnold J. Toynbee, the struggle between 1736 and 1759 on Nantucket was the vital challenge which was met by an uncreative response. The break-down blow had been struck. The blow occuring as it did relatively early in the life of Nantucket Quakerism gives clue to all that happened subsequently. Unfortunately the great commons case has been lost or ignored in practically every study of the island. Without understanding the breakdown of the community involved in the mid-18th Century, no true perspective is possible, however, regarding subsequent events on the island. This study, if it serves no other useful function, at least focuses light on the true dynamic of the

early Quaker period on Nantucket.

The Commons Case was naturally incomplete in 1759. The basic problem was as yet unresolved, while the Buffington Report itself evoked four related events in the immediately subsequent future. The most dramatic consequence was the disownment of Richard Macy's brother, minister Jabez Macy. It will be recalled that Jabez had served as chairman of the committee in 1755 which had executed judgment upon Samuel Bunker, William Russell and Peleg Gardner. Now he must have felt himself to have been the dupe of the dominant minority, whose maneuvers had placed his upright brother Richard in such an embarrassing position and as well involved himself as he had to appear in the role of the "whipping boy" during the reinstatement providings. At any rate steps were taken against Jabez in the summer of 1760 when it was claimed he had "Delivered Several Publick Censures" in meetings for worship which were conducive to restless disorder among those who listened. In addition it was claimed rather plaintively that he had "as well lately asserted Divine Authority for a fact that prov'd not to be so." Surely Jabez was not being ironic about his own service on the disownment committee five years before. And even if not, it hardly suited for the body of the meeting to become so terribly sensitive at this one point, when the London Meeting for Sufferings had undone them so recently on the larger issues in the matter of Divine Authority. Very probably the people offended included one Elihu Coleman, who had already experienced the spiteful pleasure of the humiliation of other critics. At any rate Joseph Jenkins and Joseph Marshall reported in Ninth Month that Jabez was willing to make a verbal acknowledgement of his fault. Meanwhile Elihu Coleman had just departed on a trip in the ministry to parts unknown.

Tenth Month revealed the case unsettled. Eleventh Month found Jabez Macy absent from meeting. In Twelfth Month a new committee was named to discipline the unhappy critic. Philip Pollard, now restored to complete rapport with his erstwhile judges, was named chairman. William Coffin son of miller Samiel

Jonathan Folger, Captain Jethro Folger and Matthew Barnard were to assist. The wheels turning toward expulsion accellerated under the care of the new committee. A special monthly meeting early in First Month 1761 noted that Jabez Macy refused to meet with the new committee, who reported they had "experimental knowledge" of his obnoxious speaking in meeting and "sufficient Evidence" as to his guilt on the charge of falsehood, to request the meeting to issue a document denouncing his ministry, and remove him from the meeting of ministers and elders. Apparently there was sufficient approval for such a minute to be written, as, Joseph Worth and William Coffin were named to produce the formulation.

A week later another special monthly meeting was held when the current went even more strongly against poor Jabez. The meeting of ministers and Elders had submitted a report that they had dealt with Friend Macy to no avail. Consequently the judgment arrived at a week before was spread in the minutes, and signed by all the members of the disownment committee. Jabez Macy was no longer a member of the Select Meeting. Then another document was composed which first noting the action of the select meeting, proceeded to sever Jabez Macy from all connection with the Society of Friends. The second paper was signed by Silvanus Hussey, the ex-clerk, Jethro Folger and Matthew Barnard of the first committee, Joseph Worth, co-author of the first paper, schoolteacher Joseph Jenkins and Silvanus Worth, son of Joseph. Just why this particular assortment of Friends was chosen to append their names is unknown, unless they were appointed as a committee to produce the document papers during the course of the session.

Actually the final papers were left to be read at the regular monthly meeting when the new clerk Joseph Marshall, Jr. carried out that function with appropriate solemnity. The document was then directed to reread at

the First-day meeting following, and then to be delivered to the delinquent. Jabez Macy was cut off from Quaker membership when aged 78, after a half century of useful service in the Society. He had acted successivly as overseer elder and then minister. Though the dismissal was difficult for the elderly man, he took the event in his stride, and was still a vigorous non-cooperator when the Revolutionary War broke. The irony of his situation was that the man who had been the chief instrument to disbar the dissident minority from the meeting in 1755, was in the long run the only Friend permanently disowned as a result of the original upheaval in the Commons Case. As a matter of fact he was the fourth Friend permanently disowned by Nantucket Monthly Meeting.

The second subsequent event occurred a few months after Jabez Macy's disownment, when Nantucket received the special epistle directed to New England Friends from London Yearly Meeting referring pleasantly to the knowledge that differences among Friends on Nantucket were in a goodly degree composed. Nantucketers were impressed to the extent that they had the epistle spread in full in the men's minutes. At that time a veritable orgy of epistle reading was engaged upon ranging from the usual Quarterly Meeting document, through the General New England Epistle, the General New York Epistle, the General Philadelphia Epistle, the General London Epistle to the special letter. All Quakerdom rejoiced with the apparent resolution of Nantucket's problem. The two London documents and that of New England Yearly Meeting were read at a First-day meeting in Seventh Month, 1761, while the New England and special London epistle were ordered copied in full in the minutes, "as they contain much wholesome Advice and very savory counsel." As it happened the New England epistle was overlooked. The condemnation of the soldiers tax must have been for the most part the savory counsel so appreciated.

A third subsequent event to the Buffington report were the observations of Elizabeth Wilkinson (1712-1771), a minister of Pardshall Hall Monthly Meeting, County Cumberland, who kept a contemporary Journal while on the island in 1762. In "A Journal of my Visit to America" she "warned meeting not to be satisfied with being descended of an ancient & honorable family." Rather she admonished the islanders to follow in the way of life first exemplified by that family. The impression gained is that the Starbucks still maintained the same old monopoly, In general Elizabeth Wilkinson's outlook was gloomy. As regards New England as a whole she wrote "O You Inhabitants of New England, how I have had to mourn over you that you have so slighted all the pains that have been bestowed upon you." In the case of Nantucket the observation seems to have been all too true for in 1767, early in the middle period of Nantucket Quakerism, the Commons Case went again before the Yearly Meeting, when Rachel Wilson (1772-1776) of Kendall Monthly Meeting, County Westmoreland, took the initiative in helping arrive at a new solution to the case. Governor Stephen Hopkins was then chairman of the committee which included Thomas Steere of Providence, old friend of Nantucket, William Redwood, merchant prince of Newport, Benjamin Arnold of the 1759 committee, Edward Shove of Swansea, and Moses Brown, founder of the school which now bears his name. At that time agreement was reached to cease the double stocking of the Polpis area, a practice ruinously followed for over thirty years. The Starbucks were cleared a second time of the charge of recording the 1664 deed sureptitiously. And Elihu Coleman was freed of charges brought against him. Even then the problem was not settled. Its basic tendency to aggravate community harmony its role in the large 1771 emigration to New Garden, North Carolina, and in the domestic land revolt of 1776. All of these, however lie beyond the scope of this book.

Meanwhile as symbol of the transition to the new age, the same William Rotch who was married as the initial disownment proceedings started in 1754 came forth in the ministry just as the three men were reinstated. In 1760 he appeared as the true successor to Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., both as gifted minister and skillful monopolist. As the war drew to a close he was called to Boston to account for dumping overboard a ship-load of bayonets which he had received in payment of a debt. They could well have gone to supply the militia of Massachusetts in the eyes of the General Court. William Rotch's justification of his act was a classic of the best Nantucket position regarding war. "Our principles," he said speaking of Quakerism, "are active obedience," to the laws of the state "or passive suffering," if we disobey the law. And what he implied was that Quakers condemned passive acceptance of the laws in order to take action which resulted in refusal to suffer for the sake of conscience. Rotch's sharp observation won him acquittal in 1764, as did his nimble wits when he was tried for treason in 1779 by American fighting Britishers.

In later years William Rotch was largely responsible for the Nantucket colonies in Hudson, New York, Dunkirk in France and Milford Haven in Wales--"a hard working man who buried himself actively on two continents, while all the time thinking of the life hereafter"; he typified his age. His drab brown hat and drab long-bellied coat were matched only by as strict a Quaker conscience. One of his grandchildren wrote of him "The inflexible adherance which he always evinced under circumstances of unusual delicacy to the ministry of his religious tenets, marked on erect and noble spirit." "Some of the events of his long life brought him in connection with men high in office...with whom it is believed he uniformly made and left a strong impression for strength of intellect and moral worth."

The middle period of Nantucket Quakerism which William Rotch typified is also reflected in the log book of the past Peleg Folger, especially in his less inspired moments. Several of his more prosaic reflections serve as an introduction to a listing of developments in Nantucket Monthly Meeting which give clear evidence of the new age. At one point Folger states,"The whole worlds a cheat (the Saying is) & he is a fool that says he hath not a hand in it." Again, "Temperance is a very profitable & a very comfortable virtue. It is a great help to the purse Since Luxury & Riot and Intemperance require a Great Deal of Cost to Maintain them." And "Nothing can make a man truly happy Save a Quiet and Undisturbed Conscience" "Possess thy Soul in Patience & Unwearied Deligence So Thou shalt find...Inward Peace." The advice is shot through and through with Quietism and the economic ethic of Benjamin Franklin, Here is epitomized the Anabaptist inheritance of the Blessed Community merged with the Calvinist inheritance of regard for this world's possessions. William Penn had expressed the idea in a more vigorous way at the time Nantucket Meeting was born, when he said "True godliness does not take a man out of the world, but enables him to live better in it and excites his endeavors to mend it." Darfman says that "Penn was more insistant on the sanctity of property rights than were the Puritans." If we reflect for a moment how close the idealogical ties were between Philadelphia and Nantucket, and realize how in both places great challanges had been met in some measure at least by default, in the middle years of the 18th Century, it is understandable how a Quakerism was coming into being less sure of its universal appeal, rather, more charicatured, by the isolationist situation into which it was moving steadily year after year.

The rest of this chapter will highlight evidence which verify the thesis that 1763 marked the full budding of this later and distinctly more parochial type of Quakerism replacing that which was evident on

Nantucket in the old colonial period. First of all we meet up with the almost total eclipse of the male leadership in the meeting stemming from the old patriarch Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr., Caretaker Paul Starbuck, his heir and son was named an elder in the summer of 1758, about the time David Jay succeeded his sons in care of the meetinghouse property. Within the year Paul was dead, outlived by his third wife. Only one brother Tristram survived. Tristram's interest in meeting affairs was indeed slight, as was the case with two of Paul's surviving sons, Edward and Joseph, the third son Samuel alone demonstrated as much attention to the meetinghouse as he did to his countinghouse. Paul Starbuck did not live to witness the embarrassment to the Starbucks impending from the meeting for sufferings' advice. Incidentally Nathaniel's list of visiting Friends which Paul had kept for him since 1716 when the preliminary list had been made up, now passed to the care of grandson Samuel Starbuck. What Starbuck control still remained fell into the hands of Paul's cousins. Next looking at the meeting clerkship, a prerogative exercised with Starbuck approval, we find as before observed that Silvanus Hussey, Starbuck captain, resigned the clerkship, a few months after Paul Starbuck's death, when the office went temporarily to Benjamin Coffin, already clerk of the Proprietary. Schoolteacher Coffin held the post for two years when the late clerk Joseph Marshall's son Joseph, Jr., likewise a schoolteacher, assumed the difficult responsibility. It will be recalled in 1754 that they had been named to carry the commons business to Quarterly Meeting, and now they had opportunity to view the matter as it returned from the responsible vantagepoint of the clerk's table. Men who had critically scrutinized Starbuck tithes now guided meeting business.

As further evidence for the passage of years which gradually weeded out the old stalwarts while advancing the general age level of the whole

meeting, we discover a minute approved in the fall of 1759 by the women's meeting in which certain Friends declined to serve as overseers "by Reason of Infirmity of Age." Even more specific evidence of the separation of meeting members into an older and a younger grouping was the minute of the last day of the year 1759 which requested book-agent Barnabas Coleman to propose to the young people, and especially the non-Friends who frequented the meetings, that they help raise the subscription to repair the meeting-house. Actually what was in process of development was a plan to widen the meetinghouse which frequently could not contain the crowds when it was known a powerful preacher had arrived from off-island.

In 1761, David Joy was named chairman of a committee composed of Robert Barnard and Hezekiah Coffin to draw up plans to enlarge the meeting-house, and specifically to cut another door into the renovated structure. Eventually what happened was that two new doors were opened to enter the two compartments, one for men, the other for women. In 1762, a sufficient fund had been collected and a twenty foot addition was made at the north or ministers wall of the meetinghouse. The posts which ran to the roof from the youths gallery were sufficient for the support of the rearranged rafters as the ridgepole had to be raised and the north and south roof supports extended. General adjustments were made necessary also on the east and west roofs. The meetinghouse now more nearly presented a square appearance while the seating capacity was increased by another 500 persons, 150 of whom were accommodated in the lengthened youths galleries. Two end stair-ways and two rear doors just mentioned were added to the north end of the meetinghouse, and as well four windows, two at the north extremities of each side of the meetinghouse while two back windows had to be sacrifieed for the new back doors, and two others to make room for two additional fireplaces. Altogether it was the easiest and most advantageous remodeling that could

have been attempted. The men's room seated 885, and the women's room, 1115 persons as the building stood rebuilt. The then rather ramshackle appearing structure served Nantucket Quakerism usefully from 1762 to 1792 when the structure was moved to Main Street at the corner of Pleasant. Here apparently the addition of 1762 was removed, while the still greatly enlarged membership was served by the building of another meetinghouse in the north end of town. Eventually after the trials which led to the laying down of the north meeting in 1829, and the Hicksite separation of 1831, the old house was sold in 1834 and replaced by a more compact structure located on Fair Street, next to the school which serves as the present Friends Meetinghouse on the island. Some of the Woodwork in this last structure appears to date back to 1732, or even to 1711.

For the actual reconstruction of the meetinghouse, Philip Pollard, now a weighty elder, was named. To assist him were Jonathan Macy son of the late treasurer John, Jr., William Rotch, and Captain William Hussey, of the clear conscience. It was a weighty able group indeed. To start work on the proposed addition Dr. Zaccheus Macy set a fine example by contributing $312.50 a month after the committee was appointed. He was followed directly be a donation from Paul's son Samuel Starbuck of $145.75. However Samuel designated that part of his contribution should pay for the new manuscript book of Discipline then in process of completion at Newport. At that same meeting William Rotch procured a minute for himself and his companion Jonathan Macy to attend Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia. He had already made a trip in the ministry on the north shore of New England, even to Lynn where the Rotches originally settled. Because of Rotch's and Macy's departure in 1762, the meeting decided to enlarge the building committee by adding Captain Silvanus Hussey, the original architect of the building in 1732, and as well Joseph Worth

another valued elder in the meeting. Benjamin Barney, monthly meeting treasurer turned over $118.50 to the building committee soon thereafter when Zaccheus and Nathaniel Gardner were also added to the building committee. What the addition to the meetinghouse cost is again annoyingly ommitted by the meeting minutes. Considering the considerable roof-remodleling, the job probably amounted to $10,000.00. A contemporary meetinghouse in Providence which was estimated to cost $21,687.50 in 1758, actually cost double that figure when completed ($43,872.42) in 1760. Out of a budget of $15,725.00 expected to be met by the constituent monthly meetings of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting toward the expense of the Providence structure only $1,571.62 was actually paid by the members of Nantucket Monthly Meeting. The ratio was small considering the size and wealth of the Quaker dominated island. And there was real wealth on the island. Witness in 1763 that 60 of the 75 Nantucket whaling sloops brought in 9,238 barrels of whale oil, easily worth over half a million dollars. Under such circumstances the meetinghouse enlargement on the island did not seem such a large item, especially as there were at least 600 adult members from whom to collect contributions. When the plans for the addition were completed David Joy was released from his two year term of service as chairman of the planning committee and resigned as well from his position of caretaker of the meetinghouse.

Treasurer Benjmain Barney and book agent Barnabas Coleman were asked to contact Barnabas Gardner "relating to his taking care of the meeting-house". This Barnabas agreed to do, while contracts for windows and other repairs were put out in bids, Gardner agreed to accept the small sum of $36.00 a year for his services of opening and closing the house for all meetings. Mary Gardner, the women's "sweeper" meanwhile was getting a salary of $221.35 in 1760. But her duties included cleaning as well as

locking and unlocking. Payments of bills were still handled by Hephzibah Hussey and Benjamin Barney, the two treasurers, at least till 1761, when elder Jonathan Macy took the job in the men's meeting.

The facts of the enlarged meetinghouse and the acknowledged psychology of separation between the older and younger Friends led directly to the appointment of committees to have charge of the youths' galleries upstairs, where apparently there had been more fun than propriety. A committee to inquire into such conduct and "to regulate the same" came into being in 1762 headed by schoolteacher Benjamin Coffin, and in which office he was assisted by Jonathan Gardner, Johnathan Macy, Christopher Starbuck, son of Tristram, and Joseph Marshall, Jr., Susannah Folger, third wife of Jonathan was named chairman of the women's committee. Born a Cape Gorham she could be expected to act without fear or favor. Lydia Coleman, her first assistant, was Jethro's wife and a daughter of Thomas Macy. Lois Macy her second assistant was Susannah Folger's own sister, and wife to elder Jonathan Macy. And her third assistant was Mary Macy daughter of Benjamin Barney and widow of William Macy. Seated at strategic intervals, the women managed to keep the girls of the meeting relatively demure. And no doubt the boys were subdued by the hawk-like eyes fastened upon them, and as well by the knowledge that two school teachers, two blacksmiths, and the alert meeting treasurer were sdattered about in their gallery. Additional women members were named in the autumn of 1762, in the spring of 1763, and at the last monthly meeting of the 1708-1763 epoch. Four women were appointed in the first grouping. They were Abigail Pinkham, Huldah Barney, Rachel Coleman and Phebe Marshall. Abigail (Folger) Folger-Pinkham was daughter of the still vigorous Judith Wilcox and mother of Kezia Coffin, the notorious Revolutionary War smuggler. She was second wife of Daniel Pinkham. Huldah (Hussey) Bunker-Barney, second wife of

ex-treasurer Benjamin Barney was the first birthright Nantucket Friend, daughter of Batchellor Hussey. Rachel (Hussey) Coleman was wife of book agent Barnabas Coleman and daughter of ex-clerk Silvanus Hussey. And Phebe (Folger) Marshall was wife of the clerk and daughter of Shubael and Jerusha (Clark) Folger. All four were wives whose husbands had much to do with the direction of Quaker policy on the island.

Even this weighty committee added to the two original committee were deemed inadequate. So three more women were named. These were Judidah (Folger) Gardner wife of Robert and daughter of Captain Jethro; Mary (Paddock) Swain, wife of Francis and daughter of Ann Paddock; and Rachel (Allen)Worth, wife of Silvanus and daughter of Silvanus and Jemima (Starbuck) Allen. And finally three last names were added to preserve order. These were Patience Gardner, wife of Jonathan, Mary Gardner, wife of David, and originally a Cape Gorham, and Theodate Gardner, her sister, wife of Reuben. Four of the fifteen women were Gorham sisters from Cape Cod, where they must have received strict training in Yarmouth Meeting.

Whether or not there was any relationship between the appointment of many overseers for the children and the amount of business handled by the women's meeting, at least it was decided that a separate women's Preparative business meeting should come into being. The new meeting met at the same hour as the men's preparative meeting which had assembled regularly since 1723. The fateful last day of the year 1759 marked the start of the Women's Preparative Meeting on Nantucket, which gathered for the first time on Fifth-day preceeding monthly meeting in First Month 1760.

Evidently externally applied discipline was becoming the order of the day, for in 1760 the town of Sherbourne appointed a large inspection committee to see that after nightfall everything was orderly, especially on First-days. Eight of the committee were Friends, a group which acted as supplement to

the gallery committee under the leadership of Benjamin Coffin. The Committee included Shubael Pinkham, sheriff, Nathaniel Macy, Paul Bunker, the proprietary agent, Peleg Bunker, his brother, Hezekiah Coffin, son-in-law of Jethro Folger, Elisha Coffin, grandson of Judith Wilcox, Samuel Ray, son-in-law of Priscilla Coleman, and Christopher Hussey, son of Captain Silvonus.

All frontier communities revel in practical jokes, which seems to have been raised to a fine art of devilishness on Nantucket. Not enough room or time was allowed for such sports as football, which was strangely enough more popular in towns dominated by Calvinist influence. And the island was cold to the great New England holidays, namely: Thanksgiving, Guy Fawlkes Day (anti-Catholic Demonstration), Election Day, Training Day (for the militia), and Harvard Commencement Day. Nor was the Quaker-dominated community eager to observe special days or seasons such as the King's Coronation, the King's Birthday, or times set aside to celebrate military victories or to mourn their counterparts, military defeats. In fact, aside from the two great annual round-ups of the two herds of sheep on the island, there were no special community occasions to channel constructively the natural rambunctiousness of the youth and those persons who made no pretense of appreciating the fruits of the spiritual life. Especially taboo, at least as far a Quakers were concerned, were the so-called "oyster parties", when music and dancing were indulged in. As a matter of fact, only a few months after the large policing committee was named, one Benjamin Clark, Non-Friend, was hailed into court for keeping a "Disorderly House in Entertaining youth both males and females to hold frollicks". So serious was this particular breach that on the same day a petition was forwarded to the General Court praying that minors be excluded from public houses known for carousing. Liquor licenses were sold very carefully, there having been a dozen alcoholic taverns on the island in 1756. Women went frequently to taverns in the 18th century New England, and especially on Nantucket where the men folks were away frequently.

They often went on business, however, to buy or to sell. Nevertheless the temptation to loose living was ever present as the large number of legal cases involving bastard children and unruly drunken brawls gives the impression that something drastic needed doing.

Further evidence of the tightening up of the moral code was evident in the fall of 1760 when the town demanded that seven families leave the island. Two more families were put off in the spring of 1761. In fact the practice of screening newcomers became so rigid by the spring of 1762 that even some of the non-Quaker Coffins from Newbury were sent out of town. Exclusion was becoming the policy of the day, as on the mainland property qualifications often determined residences. Little did the spiritual aristocrats of Nantucket realize that such narrowing policies harm the users more than the victims. Once the habit was formed of seeking escape from creative solutions to social problems, it becomes only a question of time before the genius of creativity itself atrophies.

No one realized more acutely the absolute necessity of preserving creativity on the island than the visiting Friend, John Woolman, one of the four great colonial economists produced in the American colonial scene. Woolman attended the General Meeting on the island in 1760 when he made the following notation in his Journal:

> Being two days in going to Nantucket and having been there before, I observed many Shoals in this Bay which makes Sailing more Dangerous especially in Stormy nights also that a great Shoal which encloses their Harbor & prevents their going in with Sloops, except when the tide is up; waiting without which for the rising of the tide is sometimes hazardous in Storms and waiting within they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice that on that Small Island was a great number of Inhabitants and Soil not very fertile. the timber so gone that for Vesells, Fences & firewood they depend chiefly on buying from the main the cost whereof with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the Whale Fishing to answer, etc

Already the more enterprising Friends had established off-island bases for carrying on the whaling industry. In 1760 a disastrous fire ruined the Macy brothers wharf, try works, sail loft and allied industries. They began seriously to think of moving to their lands at the mouth of the Acushnet where Joseph Rotch, whose wife

we recall was Love Macy, had a whaling ship built in the same year of 1760. The The Ratches were interested in the west bank of the Acushnet, while the Macy's preferred the east bank. The chief owner of the west bank was Joseph Russell who was eager to see a new Nantucket rise on his extensive acres. In 1760 he laid out plans for the new whaling settlement, plans which he sold so effectively to Joseph Ratch that the aging merchant prince migrated to what became to town of New Bedford in 1765. His younger sons Joseph Jr. and Francis accompanied him there, while minister William remained on the island till after the Revolutionary War. Actually Joseph Ratch Sr. was first drawn to the Buzzards Bay area not so much because of Quaker connections, but by a non-Quaker nephew of his, whose descendants today are the Ratches of Martha's Vineyard.

Reference to allied industries associated with whale oil fishing demands elaboration. As introduction a descriptive extract from Peleg Folger's log book is most satisfactory. In 1754 Peleg penned the following nomenclature of the three types of whales chiefly captured by Nantucketers:

> 1. A Right Whale is a very large fish (for the most part) they are somewhat hollowed on their back, being all Slick and Smooth & having no hump at all as other whales: their bone (of which is made Stays & hasp'd pettecoats) doth grow in their mouth, the upper of Butt growing: in the Gum of the upper jaw. Their tongue is monstrous large and will commonly make a tun of Oyl; their bone is from 3 to 12 feet Long according to the bitness of the whale & all the teeth they have. They have two spoutholes and make a forked spout whereby they are distinguished from other whales at a distance. Blubber lean & fluke of a very young whale is good food.
> 2. A Spermutti is a Large Whale. They will make from 10 to 100 barrels of oyl. They have no bone in their head. Their brains is all oyl. They have a hump on he after part of their back; one spouthole - their under jaw is full of hard ivory teeth; and tongue very small.
> 3. A Humpback hath a hump differing from a spermautti that being hooked and this Straight They have bone like a right Whale only tis Short and good only to make buttons.

The foregoing pre-Melville like anatomical description does suggest the bone industry, buttons, corsets and the like. Actually whale bone was a lucrative product as well as decorative when the art of scrimshaw developed. Again there was always the hope to discover a diseased whale which might yield a fabulous quantity

of ambergris to be used as perfume in the fashionable capitals of Europe. Apparently the Quaker conscience was not too troubled that hoop-skirts and illicit courtly love were aided by the whaling industry. The trade in bone was large as the island in 1761 and 1762 sold forty tons from which they received $7,750.00 in bounties alone. And then there was the spermaceti candle industry which developed along with the processed oil which fed innumerable whale oil lamps the world over. The first sperm candles were produced experimentally in Newport in 1748, probably in connection with the Starbuck investments there. In 1753 Obadiah Brown, founder of Brown University began a factory in Providence, while the following year the art was introduced onto the island itself. By 1761 there were eight sperm candle factories in New England, and one in Quaker Philadelphia. The industry has been revived recently on Nantucket again. Of course there was the whold raft of allied workshops necessary to equip whalers, but what is meant by allied industries are plants to process the products of whale oil itself.

We have already observed that some Nantucketers were in the habit of utilizing Nova Scotian ports as way stations for their fleets as they got farther and farther afield in the Arctic Ocean. Already by 1760 some of these whalers had moved their families to the area and were to all intents and purposes residents of that province. Other Friends had moved from Dartmouth, so that the Quaker settlement in Nova Scotia eventually came to be known as New Dartmouth. The first public inquiry into the gradual drifting of Friends away from the proper oversight of their home meetings was made at the fall Quarterly Meeting in 1760 by Dartmouth Monthly Meeting. The Quarterly Meeting, puzzled, posed the question at New England Yearly Meeting in 1761, where Elihu Coleman was present to observe that no definite conclusion was reached. However, the Yearly Meeting of 1762 advised that no Friends withdraw that far afield without proving Monthly Meeting permission. In the fall of 1762 the matter was officially laid before the Monthly Meeting on Nantucket. Apparently one Friend had already taken appropriate steps to validate his removal to Nova Scotia according to the Discipline. He was Silvanus Allen, son-in-law of Jethro Starbuck, who was

the first to seek a minute of removal to Dartmouth Monthly Meeting, as the majority of the New Dartmouth settlers came from that jurisdiction. This was in Fourth Month 1761, three months after his actual departure with his wife and four youngest children. That fall Dartmouth Monthly Meeting returned the minute of transfer for specific additions, including approval for removal at so great a distance. That winter Silvanus put in on his whaler, and picking up the rewritten document, presented it acceptably soon thereafter to Dartmouth Friends, nearly a year after his actual departure from the island.

With the example of Silvanus Allen before them the overseers set to work to get some kind of acknowledgement from those who were emigrated without asking disciplinary permission. Captain William Coffin and the gentlemanly Robert Barnard were asked particularly to assist in this regard. Apparently some reasonable success was achieved as before many years elapsed Nantucket Monthly Meeting was granted full jurisdiction over New Dartmouth which became a preparative meeting under the care of the island Monthly Meeting. This happened however after the 1763 period. As evidence that matters were close to a solution in that year, a minute was granted to Joseph Worth to remove to Nova Scotia and one was allowed Silvanus Swain, son of Caleb, after his reasons for departure were enquired into by elder Jonathan Macy and elder Philip Pollard. It may well have been that Joseph Worth left for Nova Scotia under a sense of concern to develop both a meeting for worship and a preparative business meeting on the far away penninsula. Joseph was one of the mightiest elders of Nantucket Meeting at the time he emigrated.

The fact that the New Dartmouth Meeting when crystallized was put under the care of Nantucket Monthly Meeting, raised the whole question of monthly and quarterly meeting boundaries, which began to plague the Society as attention to minutiae increased. Although occasional sessions of the fall Quarterly Meeting had been held in the Apponegansett Meetinghouse in years previous, Dartmouth Friends proposed early

in 1761 that the autumn Quarterly Meeting session always be held at that place. Nantucket Meeting instructed Barnabee Coleman and Joseph Marshall to write the Quarterly Meeting that they approved the change heartily. Apparently the transfer was effected that fall.

Discussions of this order led to a general scrutiny of the distance Nantucketers were situated from Newport. In the early years distance had not much mattered. Friends east of Martha's Vineyard were relatively few and they looked to Newport as a natural mercantile center. But by the middle years of the 18th century, Nantucket had grown till it was a rival of Newport in international trade, albeit somewhat specialized in function as compared to the older part. The Lopez-Rotch mercantile correspondance had largely replaced the Richardson-Barney connections of the earlier generation. The latter alliance was significantly only half Quaker. In addition marriages in increasing numbers with Friends on the nearby Cape were gradually building a sense of fellowship with the much nearer Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. Rather naturally the question of whether or not Nantucket should be transferred from Rhode Island to Sandwich Quarterly Meeting was raised by Dartmouth Monthly Meeting in 1762, when it was reported to the spring Quarterly Meeting that they had sent a delegation to Sandwich Quarterly Meeting where they had found Sandwich and Pembroke Friends united with them in suggesting the Acushnet River as a new boundary between the two Quarterly Meetings. By this magnaminous gesture Dartmouth Monthly Meeting was to lose Acushnet and Rochester Preparative Meetings which were then to be placed under the care of Sandwich Monthly Meeting, a transfer comprising perhaps 400 members. As Dartmouth Monthly Meeting then numbered about 1600 persons, the loss would not be serious, while Sandwich Monthly Meeting with only about 550 members could rule stand to add another 400. Nantucket them comprised about 1300 members. Actually Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting with a membership of 14,000 persons was scheduled to lose only some 1,700 Friends, and these

located too far afield to be very sueful in the affairs of their already too crowded meetings. There may also have been a sort of mutual sense of release that each was freed of the other's necessity to handle further Nantucket proprietary quarrels. Nantucket could only be an appendage of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting. In the change she would become the dominant unit in an enlarged Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. The proposed transfers were referred to Yearly Meeting in 1762 when the Dartmouth boundary changes were approved, but Nantucket was not removed from the jurisdiction of Rhode Island Friends until a few years after 1763. It is very clear, however, that the restless examination of Quarterly Meeting boundaries was one further evidence that the old colonial period had come to its end.

Further indication that New England as well as Nantucket Quakerism was beginning to feel its age was the minute of the summer Quarterly Meeting in 1760 requesting that the "living Services and Dying sayings of Ministers & Elders & other Substantial Pious Friends" be set down on paper and transmitted to the Yearly Meeting archives. The historian could well wish the Meeting had aged more quickly. It is unfortunate that all the early worthies before Deborah (Coffin) Macy were overlooked in lists of Quaker "saints." Treasurer Thomas Macy's wife was, as it happened, the first Nantucket Friend whose memorial was read publicly in the Yearly Meeting sessions. Deborah, born a Vineyarder, died a few weeks after the Quarterly Meeting advice was received on the island when Joseph Worth, soon to remove to Nova Scotia, and Jonathon Macy were named to collect the memorials. Disappointingly little is said of her in the "Book for recording testimonies belonging to the Yearly Meeting of Rhode Island for New England", within whose vellum covers hers is the second account. Apparently a moving funeral meeting had been held the day after her death. Surprisingly the third entry in the old book of testimonies likewise memorializes a Nantucket Friend, she that worthy elder Mary (Gardner) Jenkins, wife of Matthew who died in the spring of 1761. In her case the gift for marriage conselling was

underscored. The sixth entry falls within the period of this book, preserving the memory of the work in the ministry of Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman, favored seventh child of the great Mary Starbuck and first Quaker anti-slavery advocate in New England. Notice is taken of her fine education and her ample hospitality. Her death occurred two months after her husband John Coleman, Jr. in the spring of 1762. She was in many respects the outstanding spiritual leader of Nantucket Meeting after the death of her mother. Less talented in the business world than her brother Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. she outlived him by a decade in which she witnessed the transformation of the old patterns. With her death there was left only her brother, Jethro Starbuck, to perpetuate the original personnel of the meeting at the time it was founded. And Jethro feeling himself to be the last leaf upon the tree, took to his bed after his sister Priscilla died, to bring on his own death by sheer will power, as it were. One day that summer of 1762, a little grand-niece came into his bedroom, so the story is told, to carry live coals to her mother's hearth, which because of some untoward circumstance had gone cold. "But thee has nothing with which carry the coals", was the old patriarch's observation. Whereupon the little girl put ashes in her hand and safely placed a coal in the ashes and departed. Great uncle Jethro lept out of bed, deciding after all that he had not seen everything in the world yet, and proceeded for another nine years to live such a life of vigor as a man of seventy might envy. Then in his 100th year, he grew weary of the intense Indian Summer of his last years, bid his descendants farewell, laid down and died in ten minutes. Such a blithe character left one such grand-daughter, wife of William Rotch, the great minister-merchant. And when Elizabeth Rotch reached a great old age, despite her buxom condition, she kept an herb garden which was the marvel of all New Bedford, where she then lived. At last she also tired of this life and its infinite fascinations and she induced the permanent blessed sleep by ten minutes effort upon her last couch. They were a great family in their prine, in the days of creativity. No wonder Elizabeth Wilkinson was struck with the vigor

of the Starbuck strain.

Reference has already been made to a completely new book of discipline for which Samuel Starbuck subscribed the cost when he helped initiate contributions for the enlargement of the meetinghouse. Once again the meeting was girding itself with a complete array of explicit standards by which to perfect itself into the fully disciplined community. The movement toward processing such a manuscript volume was initiated at least in part by another English Friend, Jane (Rowlinson) Crosfield (1713-1784) whose sister was wife to Thomas Gawthrop, the ex-soldier land speculator. Like Rachel Wilson she was a member of Kendal M.M. When in attendance at the spring Quarterly Meeting in 1761, two weeks after a visit on Nantucket, she proposed that the Quarterly Meeting send to London for a copy of the new discipline issued then. This was done. And when a copy of the new "Christian and Brotherly Advices", as the book was known, reached Nantucket, it proved to be a New England paraphrase of the Book of Discipline in great measure inspired by Dr. Samuel Fothergill in 1756. Actually it was an alphabetical compilation of specific Quaker attitudes toward specific social situations. All but the advice regarding staying clear of the slave trade, and the specific arrangements for New England Yearly Meeting and its subordinate branches during the 1760's, were taken from Epistles earlier than 1742, when the second grouping of Queries had been received. The new book reached Nantucket in 1762 and is still in possession of the Monthly Meeting there. David Gardner and Jonathan Macy were commissioned to get the book to the island.

As we attempt a final assessment of the state of the Society of Friends on Nantucket in 1763, it is provoking indeed to discover that the one set of query answers which were transcribed in full were those drawn in reply to the Select Queries for Ministers and Elders rather than those answers stimulated by the general queries, and therefor applicable to the membership at large. Nevertheless the Select Queries and the 1762 answers are in a measure helpful. Dr. Samuel Fothergill

with the assistance of 41 New England Friends recorded these queries, which were intended "for the perfecting of the Saints and the edifying of the body". Nathaniel Coleman and his cousin, Hephezbiah (Starbuck) Hussey, had their hands in the business. The ten questions asked were intended to restore the publishing of truth to its pristine purity, as it had been when Quakerism first appeared. To the first query, "Are ministers and elders careful to attend their meetings for worship and discipline?", and living their families and be good examples, Nantucket replied that some were careful. To the second, "Are ministers sound in work, in doctrine, careful to minister in the ability God only gives?", and seek true unity as well, the answer was again that some were. A similar answer met the third and fourth queries as follows: "Are their lives clear and blameless? and are they examples of charity, spirituality, faith and purity?", "Do they rule their own house well?" and maintain plainness in the household? The fifth query which enquired, "Are they peacemakers in families?" and avoid evil reports, a most crucial question on Nantucket produced the answer, mostly clear. The sixth, "Are they careful to maintain the Discipline?" and not shelter near of kin from its inexorable operations, the meeting replied, a degree of zeal toward such an end had been maintained. The seventh question brought a completely affirmative answer. "Do none travel outside the compass of the Quarterly Meeting they belong to without certificates?"(granted by the Monthly Meeting). The question was obviously only routine, procedural. The eighth answer was bleakly deficient as any. To the query, "Are ministers and elders in unity one with another?", laboring harmoniously together, Nantucket said that there was some shortness evident. The ninth was more positive. "Do you watch over one another for good?" encouraging the youth in ministry, and discouraging unacceptable speaking, elicited a statement of general adherance to the standard suggested. And finally the tenth answer reflected the eighth in its measure of failure. The question posed was as follows:" When any ministers and elders trans-

gress the rules of truth and walk disorderly, are they dealt with?" and is action taken against them?

A much more explicitly critical document of the state of affairs on Nantucket was the manuscript Journal of Elizabeth Wilkinson, earlier referred to. She had arrived on Nantucket a few months after the foregoing query answers were transmitted to the spring Quarterly Meeting in 1762. Incidentally her's has been the only manuscript to come to light which definitely was kept day by day while she visited and labored on the island. At General Meeting on 7th day, she preached specifically to a large proportion of her listeners who dressed in line with the latest fashions of the day. In particular she fulminated against the many gold ear-rings and necklaces which were evident, and against elaborate pockets in the elegant coats which the men wore. In addition she criticized their tipping their hats to women Friends as though they were elegant young people of fashion in London. Later in the women's Monthly Meeting Elizabeth Wilkinson spoke vehemently in favor of a vigorous reformation which she considered was badly needed. No doubt in this she had the full concurrance of her hostess, the treasurer Hephzebah Hussey. Perhaps Friend Wilkinson had a somewhat jaundiced eye, however, as she found it difficult to "Surmount the extreme heat" that season, and had to be bled by her companion, Robert Proud (1728-1813) who "performed a General visit with great Diligence and Reputation". Dr. Proud was of Thirsk M.M., Yorkshire Q.M. and a brother of John Proud of Newport. Robert later settled in America and produced the first reputable history of the Province of Pennsylvania in 1797. He was a Latin and science scholar of note who had been asked to head up the Quaker School system in Philadelphia in 1761. His aristocratic Roman nose, curled grey wig and silver-headed cane marked him as an 18th century man of distinction.

The two English Friends left, after holding a meeting with the Indians with 67 others, mostly Friends. They put in at Edward Wing's home in Falmouth the first

day's travel. After covering 4327 miles on her American journey, Elizabeth Wilkinson returned to London where she married a Jonathan Dickinson. Parenthetically, General Meeting in 1762 had also marked the presence of another prominent overseas visitor. She was Hannah Harris of Pardshaw Hall M.M. and Cumberlandshire Q.M.

If the generality of Nantucketers had given up to worldly standards by 1763, at least we may be sure that the Select Meeting and their families kept "pure". Although we lack explicit data concerning the content of the general query answers submitted before 1763, at least we do know that after five years of "experimenting" with the query answering in the men's preparative business meeting, that that function was delivered to the Monthly Meeting, both men's and women's brances in the autumn of 1761. Once again the change was in part due to the influence of an overseas Friend. In this case Susannah Hatton of Waterford M.M. in Ireland, Bearing a minute endorsed by the national Irish Meeting of Ministers and Elders, had appeared, having been present at Easton, Penna, in 1760 when Israel Pemberton had triumphed in his Indian Peace Policy.

With her companion, Susannah Hatton made a most unusual request for Nantucket Monthly Meeting to be held a week early which was graciously "forwarded and held on this Day (21st of 10th mo.) in Condescention to the Request of our Friends", general concurrance of the membership having been ascertained. Again at Susannah's suggestion the men's marriage committee then currently under appointment for three young men in process of joining meeting, agreed to enquire of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting what additional procedures were appropriate when young people were in process of becoming members of meeting, asked to be married under the care of Friends. The trend toward uniform membership standards was in process of crystallization as we earlier observed in the decade of the Seven Years War. Though the year 1765 is given generally as the time when definite qualifications were arrived at, the years from 1758 to 1763 mark important steps toward those standards. Once

again American Quakerism was a generation slower than its English counterpart.

The first non-Friend to seek a Quaker wedding in the five-year period was James Cartwright, grnadson of an original meeting member by the same surname. His request for membership was allowed at his second declaration toward marriage in the fall of 1758. No uniformity was practiced as a month later three non-Friends married without specific membership enquiry. The only plausible exploration of such contradictory procedure is that the latter were considered part of the "wider Quaker fellowship" on the island, people who did not belong to meeting, but who were closer in spirit to Friends than to the Congregationalists. According to the 1760 provincial census there were 16,412 Quakers in Rhode Island, while meeting records list a total of only 9,265 members. Apparently 7,145 were attenders in the wider sense. Assuming that the proportion of sympathetic people on Nantucket equalled that in Rhode Island, in 1760 that group numbered 960. Nantucket Quakerism in the broadest sense comprised 2210 residents out of a total of about 2800 islanders. The whole Quarterly Meeting area included 22,490 persons containing at least ten times the number of Friends in the area today.

However easily members of the wider Quaker fellowship might slither into membership, the backsliding nominal member found it necessary to make formal application to win back his right. Such happened in the case of Shubael Pinkham, Jr. in the autumn of 1759. About the time the women set up their Preparative Meeting, they began to exercise care over brides about to join. In this situation Abigail Chase, granddaughter of Joseph Marshall, Sr. was admitted and, as well, Anna Worth, backslid member and daughter of John Worth. By 1760 it became the customary procedure for the respective preparative meetings to enquire into membership applications and to report their decisions to Monthly Meeting. Such was the case with William Black that autumn when Joseph Marshall, Jr. and Joseph Jenkins reported the young man cleared. In the spring of 1761 the overseers reported that James Gardner

aged about 60, husband of Susannah and father of a number of staunch Quakers, desired to "be admitted as a Meember of this Meeting". His very formal application was acted upon favorably a month later.

Next there followed the enquiry inspired by Susannah Hatton, which enquiry served in the longrun to focus attention more upon variations from the accepted Quaker marriage procedures than to further sharpen membership application methods as such. Whatever the answer of the Quarterly Meeting was in the fall of 1761, Nantucket Meeting found it necessary to add ministers Nathaniel and Elihu Coleman as a special committee to aid the overseers in what was essentially a problem of marriage counselling. A certain Shubael Gardner, son of widow Theodate, was eager to make intentions of marriage, but there was obviously a jilted girl in the picture, for Matthew Barnard and Jethro Coleman were asked to meet with said Shubael and recommend discreetly what was "needful". The situation was smoothed over and Shubael was married in four months time. Meanwhile the worthy elder William Coffin, son of miller Samuel, was required to hand in an acknowledgement because he had allowed a daughter of his to marry in his house not under the care of the Meeting. Friends had begun to prosecute those who made it easy formembers to contract worldly marriages. Soon after the queries and query answers were read in Monthly Meeting for the second time in the year 1762, "with pretty general Concurrance", an acknowledgement was received from Hephzebah (Meader) Russell, recent bride of Daniel Russell, for marrying out of meeting "for want of keeping close to that divine Light Within". Actually neither were actual members, but by this action at least Hepzebah entered into Quaker membership. Some months later Thomas Barnard, Jr. sent in a paper condemning a similar action, which paper was read in monthly and first-day meetings. Still another paper following along the same lines of apology was received from Deborah (Gardner) Gardner, wife of Richard and daughter of Peter, neither of whom were Friends. Apparently her apology was tantamount to an application of membership.

Meanwhile a really unconventional situation was in process of being uncovered. It appears that John Waterman, one time of Greenwich R.I., had been "Illegally cohabiting as man & Wife with Mary Beard, sister of his deceased wife". It will be recalled that the old discipline forbade marriage between a man and his late wife's sister. Both men's and women's meetings acted in a situation in which no proper satisfaction could possibly be given. William Coffin, who had so recently apologized himself,and treasurer Jonathan Macy were asked to draw up the paper of condemnation which was read in the next session of the Monthly Meeting and written up in full in the minutes, as was Thomas Barnard's confession. The final disposition of John Waterman and Mary Beard for having gone "out of the Fellowship" of the "people called Quakers" was signed by ex-clerk, Silvanus Hussey, wharf-builder, Richard Macy, Capt. Jethro Folger, school teacher, Benjamin Coffin, the ex-Englishman William Closby and Philip Pollard. The document was read in a First-day Meeting a month later and then delivered to the unfortunate couple.

The tempo of apologies increased in the early months of 1763, surely indicating the arrival of the new age. Ann (Starbuck) Pinkham, daughter of Paul who had married out of meeting eight years before, produced a vague document expressing sorrow which was placed in the minutes. A month later Robert Coffin apologized,for his daughter Hepzebah was married out of meeting and at his house, "being", as he said, "unacquainted with the Rules of Friends". His apology like that of Ann Pinkham, was recorded, but not read publicly. At the same time Paul Hussey, unmarried son of George, now a drunkard, apologized verbally for an undescribed "evil" which because of unwatchfulness he had committed. In this case First-day Meeting heard his apology read before it was recorded in the Meeting minutes. Then three cases were reported by the women's Monthly Meeting. All three had married out. The first was Sarah (Folger) Gardner-Barker, daughter of Rep Alushai Folger, and second wife of Robert Barker. She was disowned while the other two were reclaimed. The second was Hephzebah (Coffin) Jackson, duaghter of Robert Coffin who had already been over

the hurdles for his daughters' lack of prudence. And the third was Phebe (Barnard) Barnard, daughter of Abishai and wife of George, a non-Friend. The 1708-1763 age concluded appropriately enough with these three cases in litigation and it was while the pious hope was expressed that Friends in the interval would "use Some Industry" to get the delinquents to see the evil of their ways.

In the wider area of social concern we have already made brief reference to the new 1760 advice against slavery which had been included in the new books of Discipline, largely as a result of the efforts of John Woolman who was in Newport and on Nantucket that year as above ovserved. For four years Woolman had been pressing his concern for ridding the Society of Friends from involvement in the curse of perpetual bondage. Already southern Friends were becoming sensitive to the question of slavery, and New England Friends went as far as to back John Woolman's appearing before the Rhode Island legislature to protest the further importation of negroes. A few weeks after Woolman's visit on Nantucket, Timothy Folger, grandson of Thomas Clark, agreed to free his negro slave girl either before she reached her 25th birthday or earlier if he went overseas first on his next whaling voyage. Timothy made his promise to the preparative meeting which reported the matter to Monthly Meeting through the two Josephs, Marshall and Jenkins. Nantucket was directly responsive to John Woolman's compassionate concern. A year later Samuel Rodman, a member of that elegant Rhode Island family, was disowned by Greenwich Monthly Meeting for buying and selling a slave. Rhode Island Quakerism had become definitely anti-slavery in character.

Though not specifically noticed in the book of Discipline, Friends were becoming sensitive to a new evil which had already involved some members of meeting, if not even whole meetings themselves. This was the tmeptation to trust to luck in the form of public lotteries. Already the Province of Massachusetts had had recourse to such methods to equip the very successful expedition which captured Montreal in 1760.

The summer Quarterly Meeting in that year, as reported by Jethro Coleman and Silvanus Worth, devoted one special session to producing a thorough-going condemnation of lotteries both in principle and practice. Our Friend John Woolman may well have had a hand in this reform also, as he was present along with John Storer at that special session.

The spirit of reformation abroad was communicated much more effectively to Nantucket during the five years from 1758 to 1763 than in the preceeding fifty years. For one thing, there was a tremendous increase in the number of Nantucket Quakers who traveled in the colonies under concern and with the approbation of the monthly meeting. They could hardly have experienced first hand the extensive work of reformation evident in every section of the Society of Friends, without carrying back to the island the contagion or enthusiasm for high standards so popular in their day and time. With this in mind we acheve the conclusion of an epoch by noting briefly who went where.

Elihu Coleman got credentials for work in Sandwich Q.M. in the autumn of 1758. William Ratch followed in the summer of 1760 with Salem Quarterly Meeting in mind. That fall Elihu got a second traveling minute, destination unknown, but it could well have been Philadelphia. In the spring of 1761 Sarah (Starbuck) Barney went certainly to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. That fall Mary (Hussey) Worth-Barnard, minister daughter of the old lawyer Stephen Hussey, received a certificate to "Eastern Ports" indicating Sandwich and Salem Quarterly Meetings. She had only in later years become an active ministering Friend. Somewhat later Sarah Barney produced a returning minute or certificate of approval of her religious services issued by Philadelphia M.M. In the spring of 1762, when Nantucket town was first concerned to pave its streets, William Ratch with Jonathan Macy set out for Philadelphia, and Sarah Barney asked for a minute to travel to Europe to accompany Comfort Hoag, a familiar visitor from Amesbury M.M. This particularly serious request required the appointment of Rachel Coleman, wife of Barnabas and Lois Macy, wife of Jonathan, to draw up the

document for travel, and two special men's monthly meetings, one of which "it not Suiting to act", before the minute was finally endorsed at the later session, David Gardner serving as clerk for the day. The final reading of the certificate occurred a month later when Joseph Marshall and Mary (Gardner) Gardner signed the document as clerks of the meetings, along with 24 other signatories. Apparently Mary Gardner had assumed the clerkship of the women's meeting in 1760 when she last served as women's caretaker of the meetinghouse. She replaced the elderly Priscilla (Starbuck) Coleman. Even then the minute was not considered complete, for it was revised again at General Meeting time in 1762 when Jonathan Hoag, Comfort's husband, appeared to escort Sarah Barney on the initial lap of her great journey. She was the first Nantucket woman Friend to cross the Atlantic under religious concern.

At the same meeting that Sarah Barney got her first minute, Jethro Macy, son of the disowned Jabez, "being bound to Sea" was granted a certificate to Friends among whom he might come, and possibly as protection against the still active French privateers. At least one Nantucket whaler was taken by the enemy in 1762, in this case off the Leeward Islands in the Caribbean Sea. At that meeting where Sarah Barney got her final minute, three Friends produced returning minutes from Philadelphia. There were William Rotch, Jonathan Macy and,strangely enough, David Gardner, who must have accompanied them although we have no record of his requesting to go. Apparently David Gardner had a unique ability to win himself a strong place in the good graces of his contemporaries.

In the autumn of 1762 Elihu Coleman again stirred himself. This time he was off to the meetings on Long Island within the bounds of New York Yearly Meeting. A returning minute was properly recorded in the spring of 1763. No other traveling minutes were issued before General Meeting time in 1763. Altogether ten credentials had been issued, and five returning minutes reported.

The General Meeting in 1763 was attended interestingly enough by an English woman Friend whose dates exactly include the years of this study (1708-1763.) She was

Abial (Featherstone) Hall who died at the home of Isaac Zane in Philadelphia two years after landing in America. And appropriately enough it is recorded of her that there was "mone more Circumspect in Conduct". She met with a circumspect Society of Friends on Nantucket numbered 1,385 members that mid-summer while over a thousand others were included in its wider Quaker fellowship. In all 45% of the inhabitants were actual members of the Society, while in opposition a small band of perhaps 300 persons were held within the influence of the Congregational Church, already two years under the ministry of the Rev. Joseph Mayhew, descendant of the old Vineyard governor. Surely the time was ripe for the flood-tide of the influence and prosperity of Quakerism, vigorously purified as it was on the island of Nantucket. The years from 1763 to 1833 which followed were those years of golden domination, an epoch which must constitute a successor volume to this study. There were "rip tides" of many sorts dead ahead, but they did not reveal the fatal weaknesses of the Quaker organization on Nantucket till eighty years had passed.

There remains for us now, however, the pleasant task of summarizing the somewhat scattered evidences presented in this chapter to prove the thesis that a genuine transformation from the old to the new Quakerism had been in proces, and was virtually completed in the years from 1758 to 1763. We discover the following: As the Seven Years War was about to conclude and nine years of peace were about to be enjoyed, Nantucket town reached a saturation point in self-sufficiency. It had begun to extend its unique economy and its population to New Bedford near Dartmouth and to New Dartmouth in Nova Scotia. The Starbucks yielded their monopolistic control and their Quaker leadership to the Rotches. The clerkships of the men's and women's meetings were held by younger Friends not intimately associated with the older order. And the youngest Friends of all were placed under strict committees of oversight. The passing order of elderly Friends was compensated for by memorials read to their memory at Yearly Meeting. Jethro Starbuck alone survived of the founders. The new

leadership was less flexible, more intent on strict inquiry into aid given toward marriage outside the meeting and eager to erect rigid membership standards. Though the new generation traveled in the interests of the Society much more extensively than did their immediate predecessors, the net result was the enforcement of a more comprehensive Book of Discipline. In the area of testimony to truth, Nantucket's concern regarding slavery was practically endorsed by all Friends under the expert guidance of John Woolman, but the Indians of Nantucket as elsewhere faced virtual extinction. The machinery of meeting business was complicated by the creation of a women's Preparative Meeting, while the routine of Query answering was extended. At the moment it was evident that Nantucket was about to be transferred from the oversight of Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting to that of Sandwich, the great meetinghouse was enlarged to accomodate 2000 persons. And the bitter Commons land quarrel subsided into what appeared to be a settlement. Surely the foregoing formidible list allows the thesis proposed. No other decade to say nothing of a half decade in the preceeding fifty years could product but a modicum of reforms. The very complexity of the trend is evidence in itself of a new age. So we come to the end of the story of Quakerism on Nantucket in the century from 1661 to 1763, a story not filled with startling drama, but with a crescendo of ordinary men seeking to achieve a divine-human society, and in a large measure succeeding. The story is broken just when we most certainly desire to carry it further. That fact alone should prove the value of the years that lay before. In 1763 we find that while the Colonial merchants of Boston were contending with the British crown in their first round of the Revolution over the Writs of Assistance, Nantucket further perfected her island society producing as J. Hector St. John Crevecour remarked a few years later, a character marked "from the highest to the lowest, (by) a singular keenness of judgement, unassisted by an academical light". But when the author of the Letters from an American Farmer says further, "What has happened here has and will happen every where else", we can only

regard his acute observation with mingled emotions. Must Nantucket as a microcosm of American culture foreshadow the rise of American society only to witness its eventual collapse from long hidden but fatal flaws. Or shall we expect that intelligent scrutiny of such social units as the Society of Friends on Nantucket may help reinforce the recreative spiritual nerve of the human spirit so that the creative impulses continually outbuilds the destructive impacts.